

Spring 5-31-2021

Trail of Crumbs: Tracing the Lore, Labor, and History of Bread-Making in New Orleans

Dana Logsdon

University of New Orleans, New Orleans, danaspiga@aol.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td>



Part of the [Public History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Logsdon, Dana, "Trail of Crumbs: Tracing the Lore, Labor, and History of Bread-Making in New Orleans" (2021). *University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations*. 2907.
<https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td/2907>

This Thesis is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by ScholarWorks@UNO with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Thesis in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself.

This Thesis has been accepted for inclusion in University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UNO. For more information, please contact scholarworks@uno.edu.

Trail of Crumbs: Tracing the Lore, Labor, and History of Bread-Making in New Orleans

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
History
Public History

by

Dana Logsdon

B.A. University of Iowa, 1987

May, 2021

Dedication

This project is dedicated to Frank Lombardo and Michael Mizell-Nelson. Mr. Lombardo's family operated Lombardo Bakery in the French Quarter (the final stop on the tour). I met him in the 1990s when I worked at the Italian Consulate General in New Orleans. He shared with me stories of growing up in the French Quarter, and of his family's bakery. I lost the photos he gave me in the floods following Katrina, but he left me with the seeds of this project. Michael Mizell-Nelson is the reason for everything else in this project. There are few people who have inspired both research and researchers more than Michael. Just ask any of his former students or colleagues. He pushed me in countless ways to undertake my baking history research. And he believed that my voice, and the voices of those brought to light by public history projects such as this one, matter. We had attempted to gather support for an oral history project on French bread bakers for several years. We jokingly called our futile efforts and the potential project the "Trail of Crumbs." Right before Michael passed, and when he was quite ill, the elusive oral history project materialized. The Southern Foodways Alliance reached out to Michael, as the leading scholar on French bread and poor-boy history, to collaborate on the *Lives and Loaves* oral history project in New Orleans. I think Michael knew that he would not be around for the outcome, but rather than turning it down, he graciously and selfishly wrote back to the organizers "Please let me check with my research partner, Dana Logsdon." It took me a while to complete this project, but it is dedicated to Michael, Mr. Poorboyologist, from the Muffaletta Queen. You are missed.

Acknowledgments

Food and baking have always been my passion. Many people have heard me tell the story about my father Joseph Logsdon nudging me to keep that passion as a hobby and to be cautious about entering it as a profession. I like to think that he would be happy to see that I managed to squeak out a living as a professional baker, but at the same time, formed an appreciation for the meaning and history behind my passion. He is always with me, in my kitchen, in my ideas, but mostly in my heart. I also think that he would have relished my job at the family business of Angelo Brocato's Ice Cream and Confectionary. Like all families, they are a little crazy, but in a good way. The owners, Arthur and Jolie Brocato, work harder than anyone realizes and are the reason that so many of us employees have remained there for decades. My co-workers have enriched my life and my research (Amy, Angelo, Ashley, Betty, Corey, Dave, Jerlyn, Ken, Kim, Mickey, Pam, Sal, Sidney, Tony). My mother and I opened the kitchen of our bakery, La Spiga, to the Brocato family while they rebuilt their flooded business following hurricane Katrina. When we closed our bakery in 2007, they welcomed me into their business. None of this would have been possible without the guidance, love and support of my mother, Mary Logsdon. She helped run La Spiga Bakery with me for twelve years, after a long and successful career as a New Orleans public school teacher. She also helped raise my now-grown children, who love their *Grandmary* immensely. And, finally, she pushed me to pursue this project, and offered the wisest advice, to "just finish!" Thanks to my sister Dawn, who believes in me more than I do myself. And thanks to my children, Sebastian and Leah. I can't wait to spend more time with you in your worlds. The other constant throughout this project is the support and inspiration from my advisor, Dr. Mary Niall Mitchell, who listened to my ideas many years ago and never stopped listening and providing her enlightened outlook. Thanks also to the other committee members,

Dr. Andrea Mosterman and Dr. Karen Leathem, who opened my eyes to the historical process. Thanks to my other faculty mentors, Dr. Connie Atkinson and Dr. Robert Dupont for the support and nudges. And thanks to Lucie Faulknor, Sara Woods, Susan Tucker, Lolis Elie, Poppy Tooker, Cathe Mizell-Nelson, Vilma Pesciallo, Pietro and Nora Russo, Julia Carter, the late Hans Fink, Michael Manning, Suzanne Alciatore, Anne James, Sara Echaniz, Melissa Erikson, Mary Ann Mushatt, Eugenia Rainey and countless others who have encouraged and nourished me over the years. I completed the graduate program while attending part-time and was lucky to get to know several amazing and brilliant groups of students and friends: those that I began with, and those that I finished with! A special debt of gratitude goes to Kathryn O'Dwyer, who was my co-student in the beginning, and my New Orleans Historical guru and savior at the end.

Table of Contents

List of Images	vi
Abstract	viii
Introduction.....	1
New Orleans Historical.....	3
Public History through Food.....	4
Research Methods and Design.....	6
Results and Dissemination.....	7
Review of Literature	8
Bibliography	15
Appendices.....	17
Tour Stop 1	17
Tour Stop 2	27
Tour Stop 3	42
Tour Stop 4	53
Tour Stop 5	60
Tour Stop 6	70
Vita.....	78

List of Images

Image 1. 701 Royal Street.....	20
Image 2. Tilework 701 Royal Street	21
Image 3. Mannessier's Confectionery	22
Image 4. Announcement of Bread Prices	23
Image 5. Sanborn Map of 701 Royal Street.....	24
Image 6. Leclerc Obituary	25
Image 7. Tax on Flour.....	26
Image 8. Street Scene 800 Block Royal Street	30
Image 9. 840-842 Royal Street	31
Image 10. 919-925 Chartres Street	32
Image 11. Auction Notice of Enslaved Bakers	33
Image 12. D'Aquin Bakery Auction.....	34
Image 13. Notices of Bakeries for Sale or Rent.....	35
Image 14. D'Aquin Kneading Machine.....	36
Image 15. D'Aquin Bakery Sale Notice and News Article	37
Image 16. Fugitive Slave Advertisements for BROWN, Bread-Seller	38
Image 17. Fugitive Slave Advertisements for PETER, Showing Iron Bonds	39
Image 18. Fugitive Slave Advertisements of Bakers Heading to Steamships	40
Image 19. Fugitive Slave Advertisements D'Aquin Bakery and Union Bakery	41
Image 20. Fracingues Bakery	46
Image 21. 1231-1233 Bourbon Street.....	47
Image 22. Sanborn Map 1876.....	48
Image 23. Sanborn Map 1896.....	49
Image 24. Lost Breads 1 Fracingues Bakery	50
Image 25. Lost Breads 2 Fracingues Bakery	51
Image 26. Ovens Fracingues Bakery	52
Image 27. 200 Block Exchange Alley	56

Image 28. Exchange Alley	57
Image 29. Bakers' Union Notice	58
Image 30. Bakers' Union Demands	59
Image 31. Garic's Bakery	63
Image 32. Garic's 1948	64
Image 33. Garic's Notice, 1893	65
Image 34. Advertisement Garic's Bakery, 1924	66
Image 35. Garic's Italian Breads	67
Image 36. Gaudet's French Market Bakery	68
Image 37. Hiring Women	69
Image 38. French Market	72
Image 39. Macaroni Manufacturers	73
Image 40. Advertisement F. Lombardo & Sons	74
Image 41. Italian Newspaper Advertisement	75
Image 42. 1200 Gallatin Street	76
Image 43. 1210 Decatur Street	77

Abstract

The cultural, social, and economic development of New Orleans—from a colonial port to an American city—can be traced through its history of bread baking. This public history thesis project, *Trail of Crumbs: Tracing the Lore, Labor, and History of Bread-Making in New Orleans*, is a tour on the Midlo Center’s digital site *New Orleans Historical*, mapping the spaces, events and human stories behind one of the city’s oldest professions. Rooted in a French and Spanish colonial foundation, the bread-making traditions of New Orleans reveal the influence of forces such as the port, immigration, location, and labor. The tour applies primary sources --the “crumbs” (newspaper listings, photographs, census rolls, business records, notarial records) --to trace and reconnect New Orleans bread-making to its history. *Trail of Crumbs* highlights six locations in the French Quarter open between 1789 and 1970: Cadet’s, D’Aquin’s, Chretien’s/Francingues’, Bakers Union Hall, Garic’s and Lombardo’s.

Keywords: Bakery, Bread, French Quarter, Port, Immigration, Enslaved Labor, Labor Union, Sicilians, Colonial, New Orleans Historical Digital Tour.

Introduction

“Our food tells us where we came from and who we have become”

Chef Bill Neal¹

Bread has been a key commodity in New Orleans since the colonial era. Bakers and millers were among the earliest laborers brought to the city by the French in the early eighteenth century. By 1820, there were close to sixty bakers in New Orleans, primarily French. A century later, the city directories listed over 200 bakeries, under German, Italian, and Anglo-American names.² The loaves that emerged from the city’s ovens were at first whole-grain *miches* (large rustic round loaves) and later included pan loaves, brioche, cap loaves, French twist bread, frog loaves, hardtack, pistolettes, Italian bread, rye bread, the old-fashioned French bread, and the poor-boy loaf. The large number of bakeries that anchored neighborhoods throughout the city’s history is a testament to the importance of bread to the community and to the diversity of the bakers.

The public history thesis tour *Trail of Crumbs: Tracing the Lore, Labor, and History of Bread-Making in New Orleans* is a virtual tour highlighting the stories of the people, places and events that contributed to the bread-making industry. The tour focuses on six sites, all located in the city’s French Quarter. The French Quarter was home to many of the earliest bread bakeries. The abundant presence of physical remnants from the built environment creates an approachable, walkable entryway into a culinary history that captures the sweep of the city’s economic, social, and cultural development. The tour does not offer a comprehensive history of bread-making in

¹ Bill Neal, *Biscuits, Spoonbread, and Sweet Potato Pie: 300 recipes that celebrate the glories of Southern baking – with a generous accompaniment of historical lore*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990).

² Michael Mizell-Nelson, “French Bread.” In *New Orleans Cuisine: Fourteen Signature Dishes and Their Histories*, edited by Susan Tucker. (University Press of Mississippi, 2009) 38-53.

New Orleans but instead offers a launching point for other stories and stops to be contributed later, such as the influence of German bakers, steam bakeries, Vietnamese bakeries, the Reconstruction-era utopian experimental People's bakery, baking supply companies, and baking paper companies. The six entries follow the city's early baking history and center on four major themes: colonial roots, port/immigration, location, and labor. The tour entries are:

- 1) The French and Spanish Colonial Mark on New Orleans Bread-Making: Cadet's Bakery, 701 Royal Street.
- 2) Enslaved Bakers and the Foreign French: D'Aquin Bakery, 840-42 Royal Street; Bouny Bakery, 921-25 Chartres Street; Poincy Bakery, 530-36 Dumaine Street.
- 3) The Legend of New Orleans French Bread: Chretien's Bakery and B.C. Francingues Bakery, 1231-33 Bourbon Street.
- 4) Local No. 35: The New Orleans Bakers Union Hall, 220 Exchange Alley.
- 5) A Bakery Shaped by Place: Garic's French Market Bakery, 929 Decatur Street.
- 6) Sicilian Bakers of New Orleans: F. Lombardo and Sons Bakery, 1210 Decatur Street.

New Orleans Historical

The *Trail of Crumbs* tour uses the *New Orleans Historical (NOH)* digital platform. New Orleans Historical is a free, virtual storytelling project of the Midlo Center for New Orleans Studies in the University of New Orleans History Department. Many of the authors on *NOH* are independent scholars and students. The online digital collection hosts the stories of people, events and communities that have shaped the historical landscape of New Orleans. *New Orleans Historical* is a testament to the legacy of its founder, the late University of New Orleans History Professor Michael Mizell-Nelson, who envisioned it as a public forum for researchers and visitors. Mizell-Nelson's vision of collecting history through digital archives and public participation laid the groundwork for *New Orleans Historical's* mission of democratizing history and promoting civic activism by connecting communities to their past. *New Orleans Historical* was one of the earliest digital platforms for presenting local history to the public. Now produced and edited by the Midlo Center, it continues to be a powerful tool for scholars and community partners to conduct and present accessible research almost twenty years later.

Public History through Food

Growing up in New Orleans, I visited a lot of museums and historical sites. But the most persistent memory from childhood explorations of the city is of a visit to a historic home in the French Quarter. I was intrigued, not by the history or furnishings, but rather by the slice of pecan pie served at the end of the tour. My personal experience is not unique. Food provides an accessible entry point into the past. Food is familiar, comforting, and an experience shared across identities and cultures. Nevertheless, food interpretation can veer towards romanticization and nostalgia and create historical amnesia. Several relevant works address the field of food history and, in particular, public history food projects. Author and editor Sandra Oliver discusses the burgeoning relevance of food history to the field of material culture studies and social history in her 1997 technical leaflet for the American Association for State and Local History, “Interpreting Food History.”³ Authors Michelle Moon and Cathy Stanton, in their 2018 book *Public History and the Food Movement: Adding the Missing Ingredient*, argue that food history should go beyond the explanation of *how* something was prepared and tasted to include a complex historical inquiry into *why* something existed.⁴ The *Trail of Crumbs* tour uses the subject of bread as a tool to explore overlooked issues and narratives, such as the reliance on enslaved bakers and the long-lasting impact of the labor union on present-day working conditions. A critical look at the past can also provide parallels to the present. The subject of food provides a relatable way to connect historical and contemporary issues such as accessibility, changing

³ Sandra Oliver, “Interpreting Food History,” *History News*, volume 52, number 2, Spring 1997.

⁴ Michelle Moon and Cathy Stanton, *Public History and the Food Movement: Adding the Missing Ingredient*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018).

neighborhoods/demographics, labor practices, the role of immigration, the growth of mechanization, and the impact of pandemics and sanitary concerns.

Research Methods and Design

My original thesis project proposal outlined an oral history project conducted with bakers in New Orleans. From my personal experience as a professional baker, I became interested in preserving the stories of bakers from the city's old traditional bread bakeries. Many of these bakers learned on the job and have decades of experience in an industry that has changed drastically over the last half-century. These bakers are first-hand witnesses to the story of bread-making in New Orleans. Frequently, bread-making stories and research focus on familiar legends and people (the story of bakery owners such as George Leidenheimer, the origins of the muffaletta, debate over the name "poor boy"), but little is collected or known about the lives of the men and women who toiled in the bakeries – wrapping the bread, working the ovens, delivering the loaves, all making up the daily grind of the working conditions. Oral histories are a way to bring forward new information to expand, enrich and contradict the narrative.

Following the shutdown of in-person activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, I was unable to conduct interviews. However, through my public history internship at *New Orleans Historical*, I compiled my existing research, including oral histories, into a virtual tour. There is a wealth of archival evidence about the city's bakeries, from colonial records to obituaries of long-time bakers. The internship focused on the site's backend, obtaining permissions for images, image creation, uploading files, research, and writing for the public. From existing research, I was able to identify key areas to highlight in the tour. I worked closely with the managing editor, Kathryn O'Dwyer, to edit and upload text and images for the tour. The internship provided an opportunity to work virtually in light of COVID restrictions and offered critical insight into presenting history for the public via digital methods. Challenges included condensing extensive research into digestible entries for the tour and doing some of the research remotely.

Results and Dissemination

The *Trail of Crumbs* tour walks visitors through New Orleans's bread-making history with an eye not toward consumption but toward those who made it. I have seen how few of the stories from people who work in the industry get told. While I plan to pursue my oral history project in the future with back-of-the-house workers, this tour provides an easily accessible online venue for scholars and visitors to learn more about New Orleans bread-making history, including some of the lesser-known or forgotten stories.

I encountered many surprises doing research, many of which are part of the *Trail of Crumbs* tour. For instance, I knew that there was a large Sicilian community in the French Quarter at the turn of the nineteenth century but did not realize that Lombardo's Bakery was the first recorded Sicilian bread bakery in what would later be a long list of Italian bread and macaroni bakeries. Other surprises included the strong presence of a bakers' union for almost a century beginning in the 1880s, and the significance of the Foreign French in reviving the baking industry following a wave of immigration from Saint-Domingue. And finally, I discovered a wealth of information on proprietors' reliance on enslaved bakers before the Civil War. These stories, reconstructed through primary sources such as notarial records, union records, fugitive slave advertisements, newspaper listings, photographs, census rolls, and business records, also reflect the city of New Orleans' complex history. Besides *NOH* social media posts highlighting the tour, I plan on promoting the tour with local food writers and educators and to propose programming to local museums, such as an accompanied walking tour. In the spirit of public history, I will collaborate with other scholars and with community partners to add further stories and voices to the tour.

Review of the Literature

Michael Mizell-Nelson gathered many of the early vestiges of bread history in his essay on French bread in the book *New Orleans Cuisine: Fourteen Signature Dishes and Their Histories*, edited by Susan Tucker (2009). Mizell-Nelson, a public historian and labor expert, provides an initial overview of New Orleans French bread while avoiding the common myths and nostalgia associated with landmark foods in New Orleans. It is one of the few in-depth looks at the origins of New Orleans French bread. The collection of essays, produced as a project of the New Orleans Culinary History Group, shows the convergence of diverse ingredients, ethnicities, and traditions to the city's food history. In his essay, Mizell-Nelson digs into local archives to build a timeline of New Orleans bread history, its development, and its role as one of the dishes that "evolved from a resourcefulness born of deprivation." His work provides a good resource guide to locally available documents and sources, such as a vertical file on bakeries in the business files of the New Orleans Public Library, entitled "Compilation of Health Ordinances and Resolutions Regulating the Operation of Dairies, Butchers, Bakeries, Ice Cream Manufacturers, Restaurants, Laundries, City Board of Health." Regulations are one of the major factors influencing the development of bread in New Orleans. Another source that Mizell-Nelson relies on heavily is the unpublished 1953 account by Roger Baudier on the history of the Master Bakers Association. Located in Special Collections at Tulane University Library and the Newcomb Archives, the collection also includes "General Review of Origins and Development of the Baking Industry in Old Orleans, 1722-1892." These historical accounts by Baudier provide an excellent history of the early baking industry from the viewpoint of bakery owners. Mizell-Nelson's account, while offering general baking history, focuses heavily on the tradition of the poor boy loaf, as opposed to other types of traditional New Orleans breads.

Aaron Bobrow-Strain's book *White Bread: A Social History of the Store-Bought Loaf* (2012) offers a look at the rise of white bread on the national level, much as occurred in New Orleans in the 1930s and 1940s when sanitary and economic pressures led to an increase in mechanization and processed ingredients. Bobrow-Strain uses the development of white bread to reflect on social issues of class, race, and immigration. Bobrow-Strain traces the transformation of white bread throughout U.S. history, from its elite status associated with high nutritional value to its reputation as factory bread with poor nutritional value and quality. This analysis brings to light several issues in the history and transformation of New Orleans bread, such as the rise of supermarket bread and the advent of recent artisan bakeries returning to older and smaller-scale production methods. While smaller artisan bakeries are on the rise, the older traditional bread bakeries are on the decline. The book does not touch on the history of New Orleans bread, but focuses on larger cities such as New York and Chicago.

Justin Nystrom's book, *Creole Italian: Sicilian Immigrants and the Shaping of New Orleans Food Culture* (2018), offers a focused look at New Orleans culinary history through the lens of the Sicilian community. Nystrom uses several oral histories, some from his personal collection, others in collections held locally, such as those at the Historic New Orleans Collection and the American Italian Research Library. While the chapters of *Creole Italian* are centered around lemons, oysters, pasta, booze, red gravy and groceries, this is not a nostalgic recipe book about Sicilian food in New Orleans. Rather, it is a scholarly exploration of the history and impact of the Sicilian immigrant experience in New Orleans told through the business and culture of food. Nystrom reveals how the food business in New Orleans from 1830 through the 1970s provided the means and reason for Sicilians coming to New Orleans.

Nystrom, a professor of nineteenth-century southern History, undertook this project to fill a void in the scholarship of New Orleans created by a historical myopia centered on Creole exceptionalism that often ignored the contributions of the city's diverse ethnic makeup. Nystrom points out that New Orleans, like many other metropolises, is an immigrant city defined by waves of newcomers, from rural African Americans after the Civil War to groups of Irish, German and Sicilian immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Creole Italian* provides readers with a narrative of the often-overlooked Sicilian experience in New Orleans by focusing not on recipes, legend and nostalgia, but on the universal themes of economics, politics and geography. Nystrom succeeds in giving depth to the narrative of Sicilians in New Orleans by revealing little-known episodes, places, people, and events that have sometimes been erased from historical memory, including an earlier first wave of Sicilian migration to New Orleans in the 1830s. The experience of Sicilian immigrants as newcomers to the city is also applicable to the ever-changing narrative of the city that is transformed throughout time.

Katherine Leonard Turner's book *How the Other Half Ate: A History of Working-Class Meals at the Turn of the Century* (2014), offers a look at working-class American eating habits from industrialization through the 1950s. This social history of food provides a rare glimpse into the diets, shopping patterns and lives of working-class families. For instance, Turner shows "[T]here were twice as many bakeries per capita in 1910 as there had been 1880," maintaining that even working families often chose to buy bread rather than bake at home, offering another reason behind the large number of bakeries in New Orleans during this time period.

A Vision of Unity: History of the Bakery & Confectionary Workers International Union (1986) by Stuart B. Kaufman provides a comprehensive history of the national Bakers' Union.

There are several mentions of the New Orleans branch, Local no. 35, which was among the oldest in the country and one of the largest and most influential labor unions in New Orleans at the turn of the twentieth century. Much of the book provides rather mundane history of the labor union's inner workings but provides a detailed glimpse of workers' conditions that prompted a rise of labor organizing. Kaufman reveals how the "invisible" producers of bread worked sixteen hours most days of the week and up to twenty-three hours on Saturdays. Bakers slept on the premises and were at the beck and call of proprietors at all times.

William Rubel's *Bread: A Global History* (2011), provides a short overview on the history of bread, from its beginnings in Egypt to modern times. It shows how cultural, economic and social forces have impacted bread's development, appearance and consumption, detailing taste preferences and the use of ingredients over time. Rubel relies on visual objects and artistic images to show changes in bread's appearance. *Six Thousand Years of Bread: Its Holy and Unholy History* (1944) by H.E. Jacob is an epic tale that uses bread to trace the history of Western Civilization. It provides many worthy insights into the importance of bread for survival and community. *Good Bread Is Back: A Contemporary History of French Bread, the Way it is Made, and the People who Make it* (2006) by Steven Laurence Kaplan, is written more from a culinary perspective and provides details on the production of classic French bread. It provides useful descriptions of production methods through time.

Several essential primary sources lend helpful information to reconstruct the story of bread in New Orleans. Articles from America's Historical Newspapers, available online, give powerful insight into the effects of health ordinances and regulations on bread. For example, an article in the *Daily Picayune* on June 8, 1912, poses the concerns of a wholesale baker, Mr. August Poche, on whether to wrap "frog loaves" (small French rolls) for delivery. From later

articles, it becomes clear that the wrapping of small rolls, once considered lagniappe to use up small amounts of dough, was too expensive. The frog loaves appeared regularly in advertisements in the early twentieth century but disappeared, most probably due to the expense of wrapping. Another more recent article published in the *Times-Picayune* in 1974 discusses the rise in bread prices due to the rising cost of ingredients. One of those high-cost ingredients was wrapping paper, which was replaced in part by plastic.

Other newspaper articles, written as cultural pieces, also provide relevant source material in the bread story of New Orleans. For examples of these articles, see Jim Amoss's "Gendusa Bakery"; and "Poor Boy Gets Rich" and Dale Curry's, "The Upper Crust: What Makes New Orleans-Style French Bread so Different?" Given the enduring sense of nostalgia surrounding New Orleans bread, especially French bread, there are numerous newspaper articles about French bread baking traditions. And finally, newspaper archives provide traces of enslaved bakers' lives through fugitive slave advertisements. Further evidence of the reliance on enslaved labor is found in the Notarial Archives in acts of sale and property records.

City directories from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries confirm up to two hundred bakeries spread across every neighborhood. These, together with census and immigration records, help map where bakers originated, lived and worked. Historic advertisements and menus show where and what customers ate and how much they paid for products. Records from bakery supply houses, such as the Charles Dennery Collection at the University of New Orleans Special Collections, show how ingredients and equipment have changed over time. The Charles Dennery Baking Supply Company (1894-1964) was the largest and oldest baking supply company in the Gulf South. The company logo was "If It Is Used in A Bakery We Have It." A comparison of catalogues from 1909 and the 1940s shows the transition from hands-on older baking methods

and equipment such as dough troughs, wood or coal-fired brick ovens, and hand crank mixers to automated dividers, dough rounders, conveyor belts, gas ovens, and wrapping machines. In a twist of irony, some of the older production methods and supplies used a century ago are now being used by a wave of small independent artisanal bakeries in New Orleans. Many of these new bakeries have gone back to the hands-on methods of a scale, a mixer, a workbench, cush linen cloth, peels, and brick-lined ovens.

Documentaries, oral histories and images collected from bakers provide memories and stories of how New Orleanians ate, worked and lived in the city. One such oral history is that of Joseph Darensbourg, a retired fourth-generation baker from Leidenheimer Bakery.

Darensbourg's interview is part of a project of the Southern Foodways Alliance project "The Lives and Loaves of New Orleans." (<https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/joe-darensbourg-joseph-darensbourg/>). This project documents bakers and poor-boy makers in New Orleans, honoring the voices of the men and women who make up the landscape of New Orleans food and culture. Darensbourg's interview, conducted by his son, Joseph Darensbourg, in collaboration with the author, is accompanied by a photographic slideshow and transcript. In the interview, the elder Darensbourg offers his personal story as a third-generation German Creole oven man, and the baker with the most seniority (almost forty years) at Leidenheimer Bakery. He also offers insight into the types of bread baked over time and the names of other bakeries where he worked. Darensbourg was a member of the local Bakers Union and detailed his experiences as a union member.

Along with oral histories, photographic images can further build on the story of the lives of New Orleans bakers and the bread they baked. For example, the Darensbourg family has images of family members, both at home and at work. One such image is of Joseph Darensbourg

manning the ovens at Leidenheimer. Another image, possibly an industry photo taken inside the bakery, shows workers gathered around a trough, measuring and weighing dough. The Historic New Orleans Collection maintains a collection of industry photos by the Charles L. Frank Studio, taken during the 1940s primarily for insurance purposes. The Cole Coleman Collection (1883-1969) at Tulane University, details the Sunrise bakery's bread-making process in Algiers. Many of these images are available online through the Louisiana Digital Library (louisianadigitallibrary.org). The *WPA Guide to New Orleans* also includes mentions and images of bakeries no longer in existence and insight into working conditions and traditions.

Together, these primary sources provide the words and images to craft a story of how and where the bakers that shaped New Orleans' bread worked. They represent a small part of the story of New Orleans bread and how it has changed over time.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

- Bobrow-Strain, Aaron. *White Bread: A Social History of the Store-Bought Loaf*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2012.
- Jacob, H.E. *Six Thousand Years of Bread: Its Holy and Unholy History*. New York, NY: Skyhorse Publishing, 2007 (Originally published: Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1944).
- Kaplan, Steven Laurence. *Good Bread is Back: A contemporary history of French bread, the way it is made, and the people who make it*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Kaufman Stuart B. *A Vision of Unity: History of the Bakery & Confectionary Workers International Union*. Kensington, Maryland: BCTW, 1986.
- Leonard Turner, Katherine. *How the Other Half Ate: A History of Working-Class Meals at the Turn of the Century*. Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 2014.
- Nystrom, Justin A. *Creole Italian: Sicilian Immigrants and the Shaping of New Orleans Food Culture*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2018.
- Mizell-Nelson, Michael, “French Bread” *New Orleans Cuisine: Fourteen Signature Dishes and Their Histories*, edited by Susan Tucker, 38-53. Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2009.
- Panschar, William G. and Slater, Charles. *Baking in America, Vol. I: Economic Development. Vol. II: Market Organization and Competition*. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1956.
- Powell, Lawrence N. *The Accidental City: Improvising New Orleans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Rubel, William. *Bread: A Global History*. London, UK: Reaktion Books, 2011.
- The WPA Guide to New Orleans* (American Guide Series) Federal Writers Project. New York: Pantheon, 1983.

Primary Sources

Oral Histories

Darensbourg, Joseph Sr. “Lives and Loaves” oral history interview conducted by Joseph Darensbourg Jr. and Dana Logsdon for Southern Foodways Alliance. May 25, 2015. <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/joe-darenbourg-joseph-darensbourg/>

Gendusa, Jason. “Lives and Loaves” oral history interview conducted by Dana Logsdon for Southern Foodways Alliance. May 11, 2015. <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/jason-gendusa/>

Logiudice, Sal. “Lives and Loaves” oral history interview by Dana Logsdon for Southern Foodways Alliance. May 24, 2015. <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/sal-logiudice/>

Manuscript Collections

Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union archives 1888-1982. State of Maryland and Historical Collections. University of Maryland.

Baudier, Joseph Roger. “New Orleans Master Bakers Protective Association, 1892-1952, Together with a General Review of Origin and Development of the Baking Industry in Old New Orleans, 1722-1892”, n.d. Tulane University Special Collections.

Cole Coleman Photography Collection (1883-1969), Tulane University.

Charles Dennery Baking Supply Company (1894-1964) collection at the University of New Orleans Special collections.

Charles L. Frank Photography Collection (1940), Historic New Orleans Collection.

Reference

Orleans City directories from the 19th and 20th centuries, University of New Orleans Special Collections.

America’s Historical Newspapers. Articles and Advertisements.

“Compilation of Health Ordinances and Resolutions New Regulating the Operation of Dairies, Butchers, Bakeries, Ice Cream Manufacturers, Restaurants, Laundries, City Board of Health.” Vertical file on bakeries in the business files of the New Orleans Public Library.

Appendices (Tour Stops)

Tour Stop 1

The French and Spanish Colonial Mark on New Orleans Bread-Making: Cadet's Bakery, 701 Royal Street.

The intersection of St. Peter and Royal Streets is loud and busy with the passing hustle of to-go drinks, music, and tourists, making it hard to notice a faded patch of tile work outside the corner grocery store located at 701 Royal Street. However, this almost hidden marker is a powerful reminder of a long line of baking and confectionary businesses that once occupied the space and built on French and Spanish colonial baking traditions.

Mannessier's Confectionary was the last of several bakeries to operate out of the location. An 1895 photograph shows the elegant and ornate interior of Mannessier's, lined with the above-mentioned tilework. (Pictured below) According to owner Adolph Leclerc's 1912 obituary, "he owned a confectionary at the time of his death, which is noted throughout the city as one of the landmarks of the old French section."⁵ The first recorded bakery to operate out of this location was Cadet's bakery (1789-1824). Frenchman Jacques Molon (or Moulon) established Cadet's in a rear structure facing St. Peter Street and operated a mill "in which coarse flour, floated down the Mississippi River on flatboats, was reground to a finer grade – the grade that made the loaves Cadet sold over the counters of his corner store second to none. No other baker made a better brioche."⁶

⁵ *The Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, Louisiana), February 16, 1912, page 5.

⁶ Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Old New Orleans: A History of the Vieux Carré, Its Ancient and Historical Buildings*. (New Orleans: Harmanson, 1936.)

Bakers and millers were among the first laborers sent by the French government to New Orleans in 1718, bringing the supplies and knowledge necessary to establish strong bread-making and bread-eating traditions. The first recorded commercial bakery in New Orleans was for a baker named Francois Lemelle (or Lemesle), who operated under the alias of “Bellegarde” at the corner of St. Ann and Chartres Streets.⁷ These transplanted French bakers relied on standard methods and recipes. The types of bread baked resembled those popular in eighteenth-century France – large dense round loaves of mixed grains, smaller enriched loaves of white flour, and hard, long-lasting biscuits suitable for sea voyages. Bakeries often produced two qualities of bread, one of more refined quality and one of second quality, for those unable to afford the higher-priced loaves. This two-tiered bread system continued into the next century and reinforced bread as a marker of social class.⁸ Eventually, the more elite white loaves of bread became the norm, replacing the large whole grain loaves.⁹ Today, small artisanal bakeries are again reversing the trend, returning to whole grain rustic loaves, now at an elevated status/price.

Bakeries in eighteenth-century New Orleans also resembled bakeries of the same time in France -- equipped with one or more wood-burning brick ovens, wooden peels to move the loaves in and out, long wooden dough troughs to mix the dough, and a workbench to weigh and shape loaves. By 1820, approximately sixty French bakers and confectioners operated in New Orleans close to the Mississippi River – a source for the water needed to make bread. Rainwater collected in outdoor cisterns provided an additional source of water. While the bread baked at

⁷ Roger Baudier, “Boss Bakers’ Protective Association: New Orleans Master Bakers’ Protective Association Together with a General Review of the Origins and Development of the Baking Industry in Old New Orleans 1722-1899.” Unpublished paper, 1952. Newcomb Archives, Center for Research on Women, Tulane University.

⁸ Advertisement. *Times-Picayune*, August 5, 1847, page 3.

⁹ William Rubel, *Bread: A Global History*. (London, Reaktion Books, 2011).

Cadet's bakery maintained a French identity, the bakery opened when New Orleans was under Spanish control. The Spanish colonial forces had a lasting impact on bread-making history in New Orleans not through recipes but by implementing ordinances on the price of flour and the size and price of bread due to flour shortages. The municipal council of New Orleans also taxed the number of barrels of flour bakers consumed to collect funds for the city's illumination system. This tax replaced a system of taxation based on the number of chimneys on each building, obsolete following fires in 1788 and 1794 that destroyed most buildings and chimneys.¹⁰ These government regulations contributed to the standardization of bread loaves.

After Cadet's bakery closed, several other bakers and confectioners operated in that same location (Leblanc, Lefevre, Tambelli, Vincent, Desbonnes and Bonnecayes, Mannessier, and Leclerc).¹¹ While always evolving and adapting, the bread-making traditions of New Orleans remain firmly established in the familiar identity of the early French bakers.

¹⁰ Reports on taxes collected on beeves, mutton, and flour and allocated to the lighting system of New Orleans Transcript 1799-11-30. Tulane University, Louisiana Research Collection.

¹¹ Advertisement. *Louisiana State Gazette* (New Orleans, Louisiana), April 15, 1822, page 1.

Image 1: 701 Royal Street.



701-705 Royal Street, the former location of Cadet's bakery, now a grocery store. In 1871 most of the original structure was destroyed by fire, and the existing buildings were either constructed or reconstructed from what remained. (Image courtesy of Historic New Orleans Collection, by John Watson Riley 12/19/2010)

Image 2: Tilework 701 Royal Street.



Remnant of tilework outside 701 Royal Street. (Image by Dana Logsdon 2021)

Image 3: Mannessier's Confectionery.



Interior of Mannessier's Confectionery (701-705 Royal Street) ca. 1895. (Image courtesy of Historic New Orleans Collection. Acc: 1974.25.3.497. Photograph of a newspaper reproduction)

Image 4: Announcement of Bread Prices.

THE subscribers inform their customers and the public generally that from this day they will publish every week the weight of their bread, which will be regulated by the price of flour.

In order to prevent any difficulty with persons who only pay every month, they will always give twenty-two loaves of bread (first quality,) for a dollar, by diminishing or increasing the weight. And for persons who have servants, or for those who are not in affluent circumstances, they will manufacture bread of second quality, and give thirty-two loaves for a dollar, which will be 25 per cent. cheaper than the first quality.

TARIFF FOR THIS WEEK.

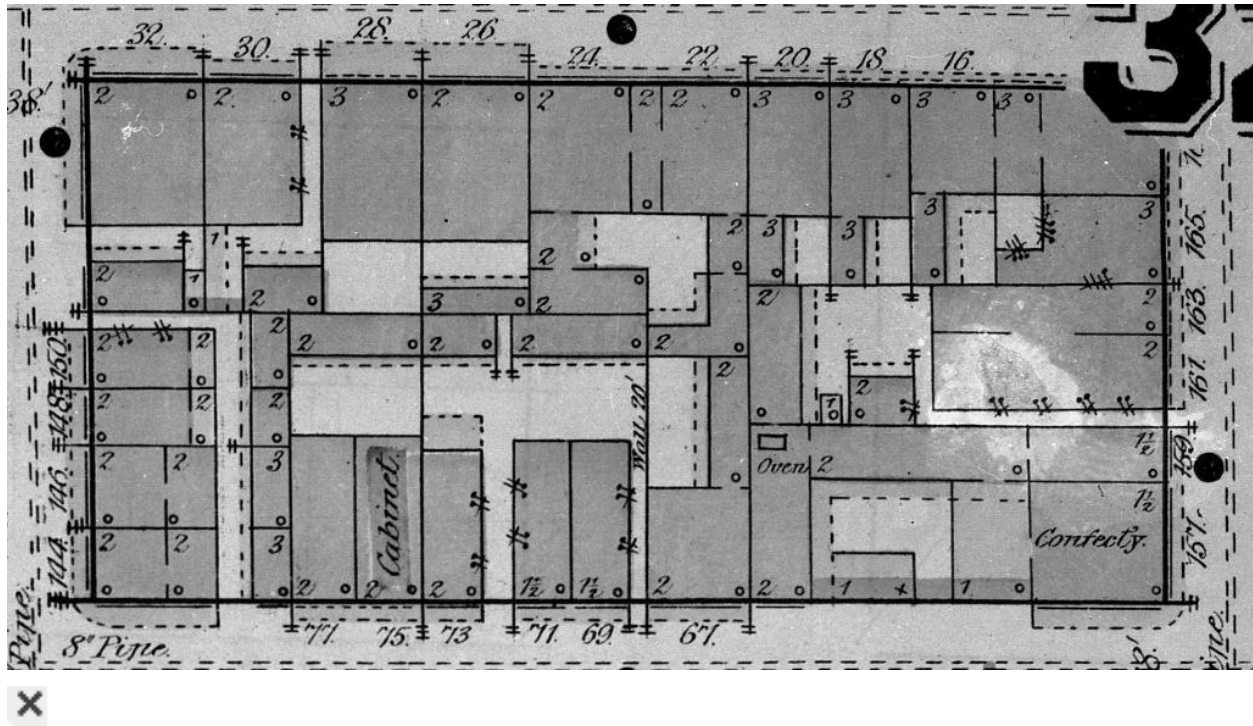
First quality of bread,.....	18 ounces.
Second do. do.	15 do.

LEFEBVRE & CO.	D'AQUIN BRO.,
DESBUNES POINCY,	F. DUCOM & CO.,
WIDOW N. BOUNY,	MAX, BLOCK & CO.

The public will observe that we will give as much weight of bread as the bakers who give 27 or 30 loaves.

Advertisement showing two qualities/prices of bread. (*Times-Picayune*, Aug. 5, 1847, p. 3.)

Image 5: Sanborn Map of 701 Royal Street.



Sanborn's Insurance Maps showing detail of 701-705 Royal Street with ovens in rear structure, April 1876.
(Courtesy of Special Collections Division, Tulane University Libraries. N-1275D60)

Image 6: Leclerc Obituary.

**DEATH COMES
TO A. S. LECLERC**

**Veteran Royal Street Confectioner,
Prominent in City Politics, Passes
Away—Was Police Commissioner
Under Chief Journee.**

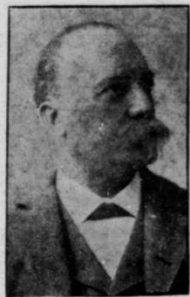
Adolph S. Leclerc, sixty years old, for many years prominently connected with city politics and a veteran confectioner, living at 701 Royal street, died yesterday morning at 9 o'clock, after an illness of several months, being confined to his bed for the last fifteen days.

Mr. Leclerc was a native of New Orleans, and started in business when a boy with an ice cream wagon at Royal and St. Peter streets, at which site he owned a confectionery at the time of his death, which is noted throughout the city as one of the landmarks of the old French section. His place is known as Mannessier's, and has been conducted for the last twenty years.

Mr. Leclerc served in the last Constitutional Convention, in 1888, and was police commissioner under Chief of Police Journee for several years. He was an intimate friend of the late Armand Capdevielle, who died a few weeks ago, and this is thought to have weighed heavily upon him. He was one of the pioneer fishermen and hunters of the Rigoulets and other Gulf coast resorts.

Mr. Leclerc is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Gus Cantrelle, and three grandchildren. Mr. Leclerc's wife, who was Miss Augustine Des Pommier, died thirteen years ago.

The funeral will take place from the home this afternoon at 3 o'clock, and the body will be interred in Metairie Cemetery. Services will be conducted at St. Louis Cathedral by Rev. Father Scotti.



**A. S. Leclerc,
Who died yesterday.**

Obituary for A. Leclerc, owner of Mannessier's Confectionery. Leclerc "started in business when a boy with an ice cream wagon at Royal and St. Peters streets, at which site he owned a confectionery at the time of his death." (*The Times-Democrat*, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 16, 1912, page 5.)

Image 7: Tax on Flour.

2^o N^o 11

Relacion q. yo P. Juan de Cárdenas, Regidor perpetuo y enayordomo
de proprio de esta Ciudad de la Nueva Orleans firmo de la contribucion que
se ha recaudado en el mes de la fha. p. las encenciones del alumbrado de ella con
conocimiento del caballero Diputado de ma. P. Pedro de la Sade asaveros

Leon Realero

Primeram. Ciento y cinquenta p. por la
contribucion de trecentas diez reses
vacunas a quatro reales una ... 156. 11

Item. Ciento veinte y ocho p. por la
de quinientos diez cabezas de ganado menor a
dos r.^s una ... 128. 2

Item doscientas quarenta y nueve p. quanto
reales por la contribucion de quatrocientos no-
venta y nueve barr. de Arina a razon de qua-
tro reales barr. lo que en div. mes hanavia
vado la panaderia de loscientos, Santiago Monton
ciento veinte, Juan Tordem ciento siete, Al.^{re}
Griffony ciento quinze, Felipe Lancan quaren-
ta y siete, Jose Drner Cinquenta y cinco, Este-
van Aronson quarenta y seis, Pedro Quino
treinta, y Juan Wright los haviendo quedado
cerrado el horno de este cuyas partidas com-
ponen la citada Cantidad primera ... 249. ... 4

553. 6

Aziende el total de esta relacion a quinientos treinta y
tres pesos sei reales de plata q. de cuya cantidad queda hecho cargo
Nueva Orleans treinta de nov.^o de mil setecientos noventa y nueve

Conclame. Juan de Cárdenas

La Prochey

Report on taxes collected on flour and allocated to the public lighting system of New Orleans. (Transcript 1799-11-30. Tulane University, Louisiana Research Collection.)

Tour Stop 2

Enslaved Bakers and, the Foreign French: D'Aquin Bakery, 840-842 Royal Street; Bouny Bakery, 921-25 Chartres Street; Poincy Bakery, 530-36 Dumaine Street.

Before the Civil War, enslaved labor was an integral part of the commercial bakery industry and the overall economy in New Orleans. While food historians note the role that French, Spanish, and Anglo colonial bakers played in shaping the city's early bread-making traditions, they often exclude the contributions of enslaved Africans, free people of color, and Afro-Creoles from the narrative.¹² By tracing some of New Orleans's antebellum bread bakers' history and piecing together fragments from the archives (legal documents, census records, fugitive slave advertisements) a parallel story of forgotten forced labor unfolds.

Records show several prominent antebellum bakeries in the French Quarter, including those belonging to Louis D'Aquin, Widow Bouny, and Paul Desdunes Poincy, who relied on enslaved labor.¹³ The above-mentioned bakery owners worked within a two-block radius of each other, respectively located at 840-842 Royal Street, 921-25 Chartres Street, and 530-36 Dumaine Street. They were members of an exodus from the West Indies to Louisiana in the 1790s and early 1800s following the Saint-Domingue revolution (present-day Haiti). This wave of refugees, part of the population referred to as the "foreign French," fortified a dwindling French presence in New Orleans in the face of encroaching Americanization. Many of these white refugees from

¹² Dawdy, Shannon. "A Wild Taste": Food and Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Louisiana" *Ethnohistory* 57:3 (Summer 2010) American Society for Ethnohistory.

¹³ 1830 United States Federal Census, New Orleans, Louisiana. Series M19; Roll 45; Page 242: Library Film 0009688. Original Act Vol. 18 Act 164 Feb. 21, 1832, registered in COB Oct. 19, 1836.

the West Indies were involved in the trades and crafts, including baking.¹⁴

Enslavers profited from the skills of enslaved bakers but often placed little value on keeping families intact. Advertisements list for sale or lease “machinery and fixtures for carrying on the baking business with or without 6 negroes, all superior bakers.”¹⁵ An 1847 auction advertisement in the *Times-Picayune* lists the names of twenty enslaved persons, all fluent in French and English, with a wide range of skills, including the following experienced bakers:

“Washington – aged 32 years, excellent baker, capable of taking charge of any bakery.

Jacob – aged 27 years, good baker, salesman, and oven man.

Bazile – aged 27, excellent miche baker and salesman, also, oven hand.

Zeno – aged 24, baker, somewhat of a pastry cook, tailor and a remarkably handy boy.

Barm – aged 24 years, excellent hard bread baker and understands the making of dough.

Reuben – aged 25 years, excellent hard bread baker, hostler, coachman and valuable boy for taking care of horses.

*Monday – aged about 45 years, an excellent pastry maker, good confectioner and strictly honest.”*¹⁶

An 1856 auction advertisement for the indebted F. D’Aquin and Co. bakery (the

¹⁴ Paul F. Lachance, “The 1809 Immigration of Saint-Domingue Refugees to New Orleans: Reception, Integration, and Impact,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol.29, No. 2 (spring 1988): pp. 109-141. Lachance's analysis revealed the effect of the refugee influx on the baking trade. According to monthly declarations by bakers, “In May 1809, 24 bakers used 520 barrels of flour. By September, the number of bakers making declarations had jumped to 34, and the quantity of flour consumed to over 700 barrels. Of 43 bakers making declarations between October 1806 and January 1813, whose birthplace I have been able to determine, 8 were born in Saint-Domingue, and 12 were Frenchmen who immigrated to New Orleans by way of Saint-Domingue.”

¹⁵ Advertisement. *Times-Picayune* (published as *The Daily Picayune*), New Orleans, Louisiana, June 15, 1849, page 3.

¹⁶ Advertisement. *Times-Picayune*, 10 Nov. 1847, page 3.

predecessor to Margaret Haughery's Steam Bakery) lists the property for sale, including building leases, machinery, utensils, wagons, bread carts, horses, and thirty-eight enslaved persons, from age sixty-one to eighteen months. The advertisement lists the enslaved workers' skills, including oven repairman, flour sifter, dough mixer, yeast maker, carpenter, drayman, bread seller, and the types of bread baked (hard bread, soft bread, loaf bread).¹⁷

Fugitive slave advertisements illustrate the cruelty of slavery, with mention of injuries and physical bondage including chains, and neck and leg irons. Fugitive slave advertisements also show how enslaved bakery workers moved through the city and shared expert knowledge—both as vendors traversing the streets and markets, and as human property transferred between enslavers. Multiple listings suggest that some enslaved people who worked in bakeries made several attempts to escape bondage and that some even succeeded in their quest for self-emancipation.¹⁸

Labor is an essential foundation of the bread-making history of New Orleans. Whether brought into the business by family ties, economic necessity, or, in the case of slavery, force, the people who mixed dough, shoveled embers or hawked wares on the street reflect the complex multifaceted history of New Orleans and its bread. Reinscribing enslaved people and their baking skills in this history demonstrates the significance of forced labor to the growth and development of one of the city's most beloved and iconic industries.

¹⁷ Advertisement. *Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 31, 1856, page 3.

¹⁸ Advertisements from Max Block Bakery for Peter. *Times-Picayune* (published as *The Daily Picayune*), New Orleans, Louisiana, August 10, 1847, page 3 and December 15, 1847, page 3.

Image 8: Street Scene 800 Block Royal Street.



View of the 800 block of Royal Street ca.1900. (Courtesy of Special Collections, Tulane University Libraries 2-047-024)

Image 9: 840-842 Royal Street.



840-842 Royal corner of Dumaine. Previous location of building housing Louis D'Aquin's Bakery. (Courtesy of Historic New Orleans Collection. Photographer John Watson Riley 1/2/2011. 2_047_roya_840-842)

Image 10: 919-25 Chartres Street.



919-925 Chartres Street. The former site of Widow Bouny's bakery. (Courtesy of Historic New Orleans Collection. Photographer Dan S. Leyrer 08/21/1963. N-1601D)

Image 11: Auction Notice of Enslaved Bakers.

Valuable Negroes.
BY SYKES & HYDE.—A. DEYALL, Auctioneer.—
On SATURDAY, the 20th inst., at 12 o'clock,
will be sold at Banks's Arcade, the following named
valuable Negroes, viz—
Washington—aged 32 years, excellent baker, capa-
ble of taking charge of any bakery.
Jacob—aged 27 years, good baker, salesman and
oven hand.
Bazze—aged 27, excellent miche baker and sales-
man, also, oven hand.
Zeno—aged 24, baker, somewhat of a pastry cook,
tailor and a remarkably handy boy.
Barm—aged 24 years, excellent hard bread baker
and understands the making of dough.
Black John—aged 28 years, good baker, waiter and
first rate house servant.
John—aged 29 years, good hostler, coachman and
waiter.
Reuben—aged 25 years, excellent hard bread baker,
hostler, coachman and valuable boy for taking care of
horses.
Jim—aged 30 years, good cook, driver and has had
some experience in baking.
Monday—aged about 45 years, an excellent pastry
maker, good confectioner and strictly honest.
Tom—aged 50 years, good driver, accustomed to
the care of horses and a faithful boy.
Sauville—aged 14 years, an intelligent boy and good
house servant.
Minty—aged 28 years, good marchand and child's
nurse.
Fanny—aged 26 years, good nurse, seamstress,
marchand and house servant.
Juliet—aged 11 years, child of Fanny, good house
servant and child's nurse.
Mary Ann—aged 30 years, excellent French and
English cook, good washer and ironer and trusty
servant.
Victoire—aged 15 years, daughter of Mary Ann, in-
telligent, good child's nurse and house servant.
Automith—aged 28 years, a good marchand.
Letty—aged 38 years, a good married hand.
Martha—aged 19 years, a good child's nurse, intelli-
gent, first rate house servant and somewhat of a cook
and washer.
Sally—aged 30 years, good marchand.
All the above named slaves are accustomed, speak
French and English, and are fully guaranteed against
the vices and maladies prescribed by law.
Terms—One-fourth cash; balance 6 and 12 months'
credit for approved endorsed notes and mortgage on
the slaves until final payment.
Act of sale before Theo. Guyot, notary public, at
the expense of the purchaser.

Notice of Auction. *Times-Picayune*, 10 Nov. 1847, p. 3.

Notice of auction by D'Aquin bakery with detailed description of enslaved bakers. *Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 31, 1856, page 3.

34

Image 13: Notices of Bakeries for Sale or Rent.

June 15

Bakery for Rent or Sale.
 The STAR BAKERY, with all the machinery, with or without the Negroes, will be sold or rented on reasonable terms if applied for immediately, as the owner wishes to leave the city. Apply at the Bakery, 60 Benjamin street.


July 15—31*

N. F. RICE.

Notice of bakery for rent or sale. *The Daily Picayune*, June 15, 1849, page 3.

1850.

118—21RW2W

 **TO RENT**—Possession given immediately.—The Union Bakery, No. 99 New Levee; machinery and fixtures for carrying on the baking business, with or without 3 negroes, all superior bakers. For terms apply on the premises or to [118—1f] D. BARBOUR.

Notice of bakery for sale. *The Daily Picayune*, November 12, 1850, page 1.

Image 14: D'Aquin Kneading Machine.

NOTICE.—The subscriber has the honor of informing the public that he has just established a Bakery in Bourbon, between Main and St. Philip streets, in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Lespinasse.

The bread he will make shall be prepared by means of a Kneading machine which he has brought with him from France, and by which the dough is kneaded without the assistance of man, and without it being necessary for negroes to put their hands in it, whereby bread is infinitely cleaner and does not leave to consumers the disgusting idea which results from the usual manner of kneading bread. This new method offers besides another advantage, to wit: that the influence of the weather not acting on dough thus prepared, the confection of the bread is always the same and is not subject to the variations from heat to cold, which so often are the causes of the bread not being regularly baked, notwithstanding every care that may be taken.

The subscriber in giving this notice, begs leave to recommend himself to the good will and patronage of the public, assuring them that he will use every effort to give them satisfaction.

San 24

LOUIS DAQUIN.

Notice by Louis D'Aquin of new kneading machine from France "Without the assistance of man, and without it being necessary for negroes to put their hands in it, whereby bread is infinitely cleaner." *Louisiana Advertiser*, January 23, 1827.

Image 15: D'Aquin Bakery Sale Notice and News Article.

GREAT BARGAIN.
THIRTY-NINE SLAVES TO BE SOLD AT 1, 2 and 3 YEARS
CREDIT, WITHOUT INTEREST— $\frac{1}{4}$ CASH ONLY.
PUBLIC Notice is called to the sale by N. VIGNIE, auc-
tioneer, of 39 Slaves, belonging to F. D'Aquin & Co.'s
Bakery, which will take place on TUESDAY, April 1st, 1856,
at Banks' Arcade, in the city of New Orleans, at 12 o'clock,
M. Most of these slaves are first-rate Bakers, Bread-sellers,
Drivers, Ostlers, House Servants, Cooks, &c. The sale is posi-
tive; there is no limit.
Also 11 horses, 2 mules, 5 Bread Carts, Wagon and Dray.
A machine for Hard Bread, with horse power. mh24

Advertisement for sale of property of D'Aquin & Co. Bakery. Daily Advocate (Baton Rouge)
March 25, 1856, p.2.

MURDEROUS ASSAULT BY A SLAVE.—A man
named Abadie, the foreman in the bakery of
D'Aquin Brothers, on Front Levee street, yesterday,
had occasion to slap a negro man employed in the
bakery, when the negro caught up an axe and in-
flicted a most horrible wound upon the head of
Mr. Abadie. The negro then ran towards the
river, and has not yet been found. The wounded
man is expected to recover.

"City Intelligence." *Times-Picayune*, 22 Aug. 1848, p. 2.

Image 16: Fugitive Slave Advertisements for BROWN, Bread-Seller.

UNDER THE SIGN OF THE BREAD-SHOP, 8 Banker's Arcade.
 16 BEARD, CALHOUN & CO.



\$15 REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, the negro BROWN, well known as a bread seller in the second municipality—he is about 5 feet 6 inches in height, strongly built, rather fine looking and had on whiskers. He left on the 9th instant, about 4 o'clock p. m. The above reward will be paid to any person lodging him in any of the jails of the three municipalities, or bringing him to the subscribers.

m11—11 D'AQUIN BROTHERS, 56 New Levee.

Two revealing fugitive slave advertisements for the same bread-seller, BROWN, revealing his resistance and knowledge of the city's streets. *Times-Picayune*, March 12, 1847, page 3.

ONLY THE GOOD WILL BE REWARDED.

JUN 14



\$25 REWARD.—Ran away from the subscribers the negro BROWN, well known as a bread-seller in the second Municipality; about five feet six inches in height, heavy whiskers; strongly built, and rather a fine looking negro. He left on the 11th inst. about 4 o'clock, and was seen between 7 and 3, in a black cloth dress coat and pantaloons, cloth cap, new boots, &c., at Mr. Goodrich's house, in Annunciation Square, and in Magazine street. The above reward will be paid to any person lodging him in any of the jails of the three Municipalities, or bringing him to the subscribers.

D'AQUIN BROTHERS,
 No. 36 New Levee.

je12—6t

Two revealing fugitive slave advertisements for the same bread-seller, BROWN, revealing his resistance and knowledge of the city's streets. *Times-Picayune*, June 14, 1846, page 2.

Image 17: Fugitive Slave Advertisements for PETER Showing Iron Bonds.



\$10 REWARD.—Ran away from the premises of the subscribers, about the 22d of November, a negro man named PETER, had on each foot when leaving, an iron ring, with a small chain attached to it. The above reward will be paid by delivering him to the subscriber or by lodging him in any of the city jails.

MAX BLOCK & CO., Bakery, Tremé St.,
between Bayou Road and Barrack Sts.



\$10 REWARD for a black man named PETER, absconded on the 4th inst., from the premises of the subscriber on St. John street, with an iron collar on his neck. This negro formerly belonged to Mr. James Dunn, of this city, and had been employed driving a dray; he is supposed to be somewhere in the neighborhood of the New Basin or Lafayette.

The above reward will be paid for his delivery to me or any of the city jails, or \$20 for the conviction of the person or persons who harbors or conceals him.


007—81 MAX BLOCK, St. John st. Bakery.

Persistence and resistance: two fugitive slave advertisements of enslaved bakery worker PETER with details of physical restraints, a sign of having run before. *Daily Picayune*, December 15, 1847, page 3; August 10, 1847, p. 3.

Image 18: Fugitive Slave Advertisements of Bakers Heading to Steamships.

jan 12—3t.

FORTY DOLLARS REWARD.




Ranaway from the Bakery, No. 74, Bourbon street, about five o'clock, A. M., the negro man **FRANCOIS** or **CRAPEAU**, baker, having belonged to Mr. Nicaud. Francois is about twenty-four years old, about five feet high, well built, thick lips, has a bunch of hairs on the chin, bright eyes, crooked legs, and stoops; has only one tooth in the upper jaw. It is probable he will change his clothing, having taken with him a dark red cloth coat, metal buttons, and velvet collar, and a large white hat. He will likely be lurking in the Second Municipality, where he has already been found cooking in a boarding house, or on board steamboats or ships, where he will pass himself as a cook.

The above reward will be given to whoever will bring him to No. 74, Bourbon street.

Captains of vessels, &c., are warned against receiving or harboring said slave, under the severest penalties of the law.

jan 12 2t




FIFTEEN DOLLARS REWARD—Ran away from the United States Bakery No. 241 Julia street, the black boy **HARVEY**. He is thick set, has a scar on his throat about two inches long, and is about 28 years of age. The above reward will be paid to any person arresting him, and an additional amount of \$10 will be paid if the person concealing him is detected. Masters of steamboats are cautioned, as he may hide himself on board to make for the West.

jan 21—8t

TEN DOLLARS REWARD—Will be paid for the


Two Fugitive Slave Advertisements Looking for Enslaved Bakery Workers Possibly Heading to Work as Cooks on Steamships. Times-Picayune January 12, 1841, p.2; Times-Picayune July 26, 1848, p.4.

Image 19: Fugitive Slave Advertisements D'Aquin Bakery and Union Bakery.



TEN DOLLARS REWARD will be paid for the apprehension or recovery of the mulatto boy known as **HENRY WHITE**, who ran away from the brickyard of the late Francis Andry, Esq., below the city, on the 19th ult. Said slave is about 24 years old, of light color, has two of the front teeth out, and speaks French and English. He worked in the bakery of Mr. D'Aquin, about a year ago, and has been seen in town within a few days. Information to be sent to Madame ANDRY, corner Royal and St. Philip sts. d26—5t

Times-Picayune, December 26, 1848, p. 7.



RAN AWAY from the Union Bakery, on the 5th instant, the mulatto man **SAM**, about 26 years old, six feet high, stout built, with a large mark on the left hand between the joint of the fore finger and thumb. I will give twenty dollars to whoever will arrest him or lodge him in any jail, that I can get him.
 68 1m **DAVID BARBOUR.**

Times-Picayune, October 8, 1844, p. 2.

Tour Stop 3

The Legend of New Orleans French Bread: Chretien's Bakery and B. C. Francingues Bakery 1231-33 Bourbon Street

In 2013, the reality cooking television series *Top Chef* filmed its eleventh season in New Orleans at 1231-33 Bourbon Street to revitalize the struggling restaurant and tourism industry following the effects of the 2010 BP oil spill on Gulf seafood.¹⁹ While *Top Chef* showcased the charm and ingredients of the city's cultural and culinary fame, another culinary story was buried just beneath the surface of the film set. The pair of 1830s townhouses at 1231-33 Bourbon Street were also once home to two famous and now forgotten French bread bakeries: Chretien's bakery (approximately 1860-1911) and B. C. Francingues bakery (1911-1940).

One hundred years before *Top Chef* celebrated the glories of New Orleans food, local journalist and tour guide Flo Field highlighted the stories of Chretien's Bakery and B.C. Francingues bakery in a 1913 newspaper article on New Orleans bread-making "How New Orleans Won Fame as Baker of Finest Bread Outside of France." Field was a member of a small, vibrant, and short-lived bohemian social circle of writers, artists, journalists, preservationists, and hangers-on who settled in the French Quarter at the end of World War I, immersing themselves in the local scene. In addition to her work as a journalist, Field was also a playwright and the first French Quarter tour guide.²⁰ Field's article gives a golden-hued "history of bread-making in Louisiana before the days of modern machinery, when the baker's craft was a handicraft, indeed

¹⁹ Walker, Dave. "State, local tourism offices paying \$375,000 to underwrite 'Top Chef: New Orleans.'" *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), May 13, 2013.

²⁰ Reed, John Shelton. *Dixie Bohemia: A French Quarter Circle in the 1920s*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012.

– fine loaves made with slave help – a few of the old bakeries still left.”²¹ This romanticized and nostalgic story of “old-time” French bread is an example of an enduring narrative of the exceptionality of New Orleans shaped by authors in the post-Civil War years such as George Washington Cable, Lafcadio Hearn, and Lyle Saxon, spotlighting the notion of a disappearing and unique Creole culture. In bread-making, the narrative reinforced the importance of traditions begun in French and Spanish colonial New Orleans over other influences, including African, indigenous, and American.

In 1846, Eugene Chretien, owner of the earlier bakery, arrived in New Orleans from France at the age of twenty-two, coinciding with a population boom in the city. Records show that Chretien’s bakery produced bread from before the Civil War until the early 1900s. 1860 census records list Chretien as a baker on Dumaine Street.²² By 1865, Chretien appeared in the city directory on Bourbon Street and was one of seventy bakers operating.²³ Field describes Chretien's bakery as one of the best bread bakeries of the time and tells the story of "Papa Jim," a formerly enslaved baker who worked for Chretien, lived nearby and trained multiple bakers. The 1860 census does not include Eugene Chretien's slave-holding records. But Field provides a glimpse at other antebellum bakeries that exploited enslaved labor, such as D’Aquin bakery, Bouny bakery, and Poincy bakery.

²¹ Field, Flo. “How New Orleans Won Fame as Baker of Finest Bread Outside of France.” *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, Louisiana), Sun., July 20, 1913, p. 25.

²² Year: 1860; Census Place: *New Orleans Ward 5, Orleans, Louisiana*; Page: 928; Family History Library Film: 803418

²³ New Orleans, Louisiana City Directory, 1865.

By 1867, the city directory lists 170 bakeries in operation, more than double the number of bakeries just two years prior.²⁴ Chretien's bakery was part of a vibrant neighborhood economy, operating "a flour warehouse, bread store, bakery and stable."²⁵ In the early 1900s, bakeries often baked and delivered bread several times a day, both to homes and businesses. A former French Quarter resident recalled Chretien's bakery delivering long loaves of freshly baked bread daily to neighboring homes.²⁶ Gaston Alciatore, son of Antoine's restaurant founder Antoine Alciatore, married into the Chretien family and is listed in census records as a baker at the same address as Chretien's. It is possible that Chretien's bakery also supplied the famous Antoine's restaurant with its French bread.

In 1911, Bernard Francingues, another francophone, took over Chretien's bakery. The 1913 Field article described the manual labor of bread-making inside Francingues's bakery: from mixing in long troughs to kneading, molding loaves, and baking in brick ovens -- methods similar to those presently revived as part of the artisanal bread movement. Field provides rare photographs from the Francingues bakery of the ovens and some of the lost loaves of bread from one hundred years ago. In the early twentieth century, before widespread industrialization, popular types of bread in New Orleans included pain chapeau (cap bread), pain tresse (French twist), flute (old-style French bread), loaf bread, and frog loaves (small rolls). While some people today may remember a few of these lost styles of bread, most only know today's New Orleans French bread style.

In 1942, the Francingues family transferred ownership of the Bourbon Street property to La Société des Dames Hospitalieres, an organization founded after the Civil War, which owned

²⁴ New Orleans, Louisiana City Directory, 1867.

²⁵ Underwriters Inspection Bureau of New Orleans street rate slips, 1897. New Orleans Public Library.

²⁶ *Times-Picayune*, July 10, 1983, p. 69.

several properties and housed indigent war widows. The building later became a nursing home, active until Hurricane Katrina in 2005. In 2010, developers renovated the site as luxury residences. The French Quarter has long been the symbol and epicenter of New Orleans. The property at 1231-33 Bourbon Street is an example of the layers of history found within the Vieux Carré. The transformation of the property – from bakery to reality television film set also reveals an intriguing chapter in the story of New Orleans French bread and the development of the French Quarter as a tourist destination.

Image 20: Francingues Bakery.



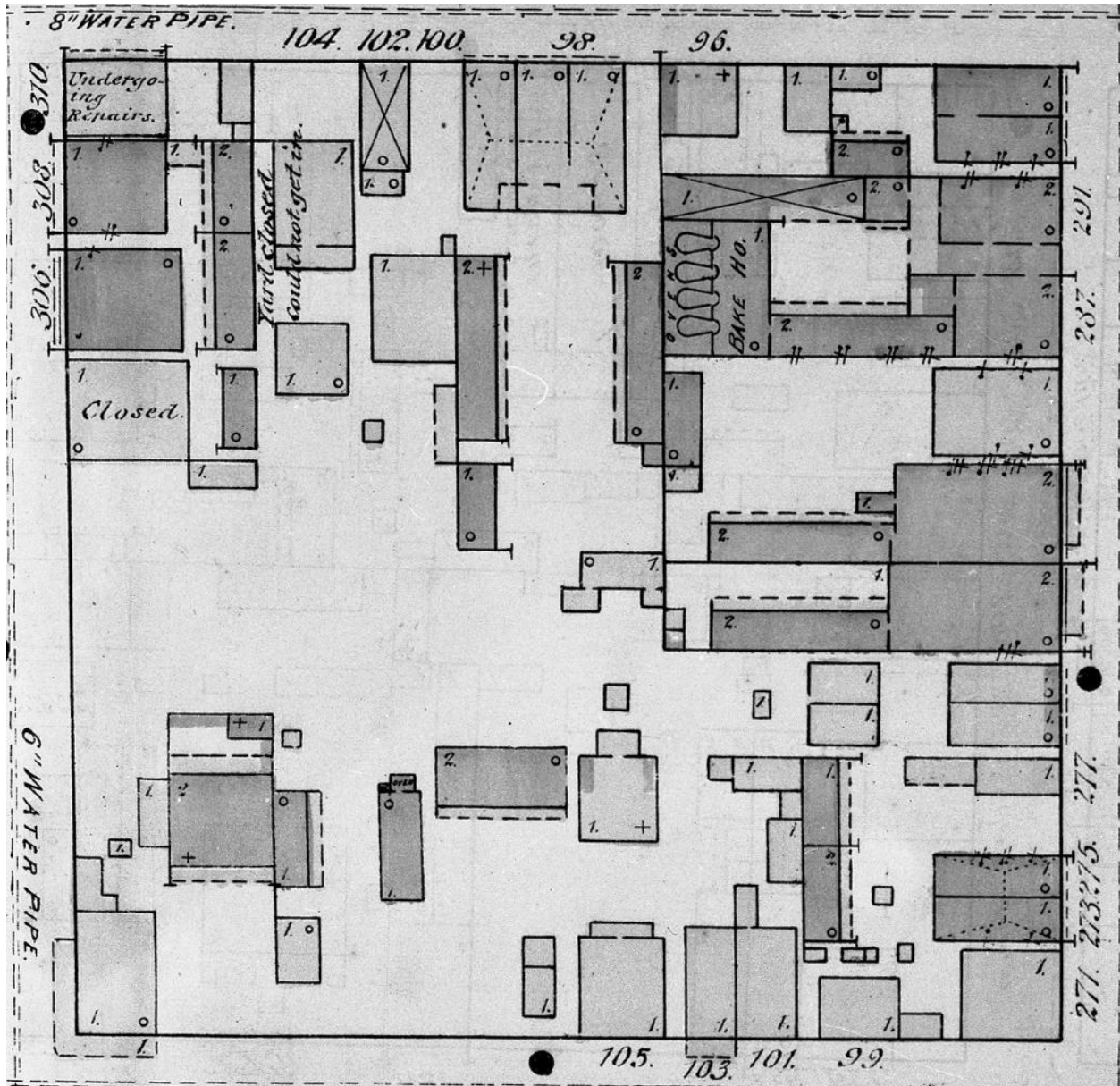
Exterior of Francingues Bakery. Times-Democrat (New Orleans, Louisiana), Sunday, July 20, 1913, p. 25.

Image 21: 1231-33 Bourbon Street.



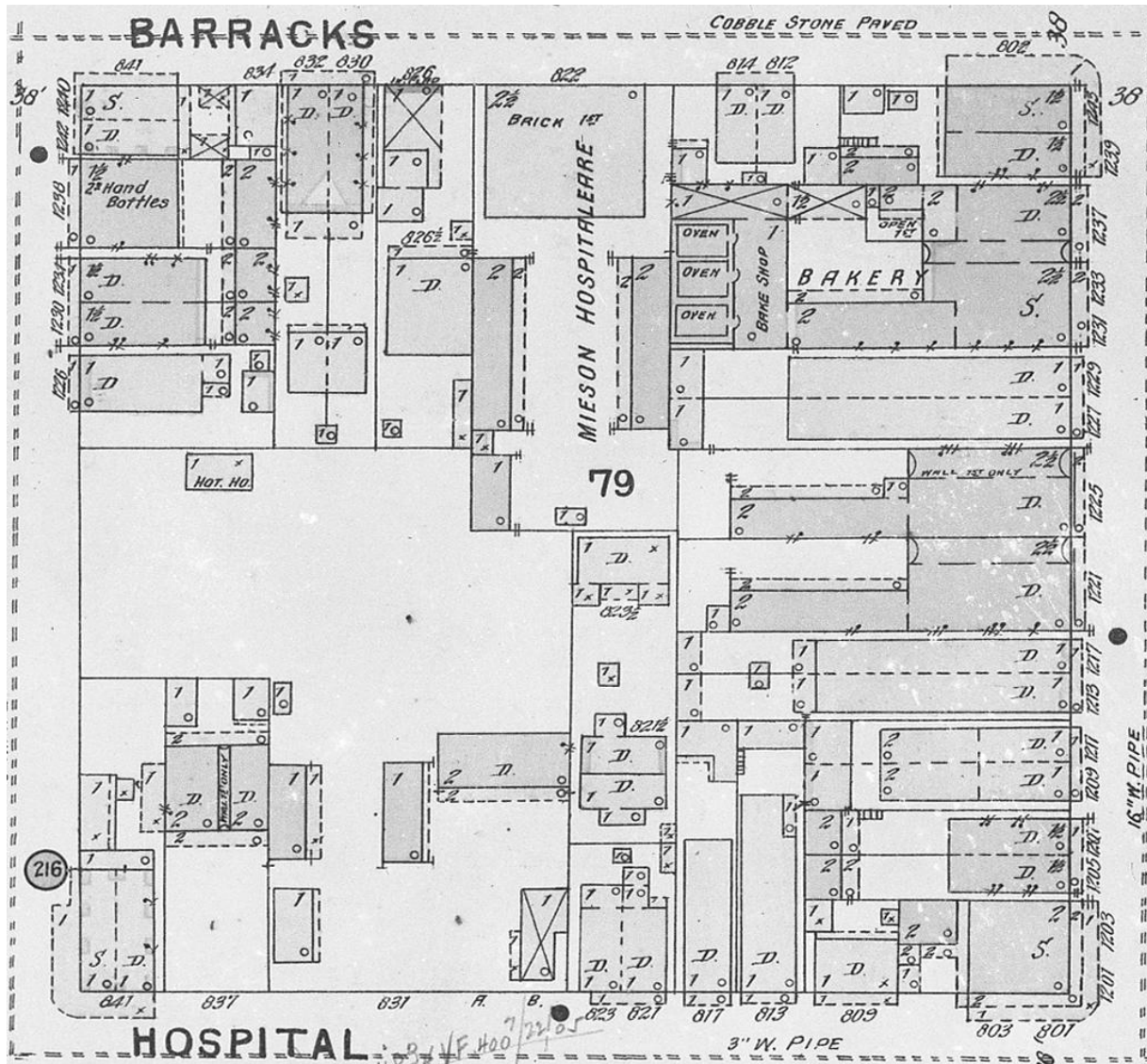
1231-33 Bourbon Street Francingues Bakery, 1944-52. (Walter Cook Keenan New Orleans Photographs Collection, Southeastern Architectural Archive, Special Collections Division, Tulane University Libraries. Permission is granted for its reproduction without charge provided full credit is given to Walter Cook Keenan, photographer).

Image 22: Sanborn Map 1876.



1876 Sanborn Insurance Map with Drawing of Bakery / Ovens at Bourbon Street Bakery.
(Courtesy of Special Collections Division, Tulane University Libraries. N-1271D79).

Image 23: Sanborn Map 1896.



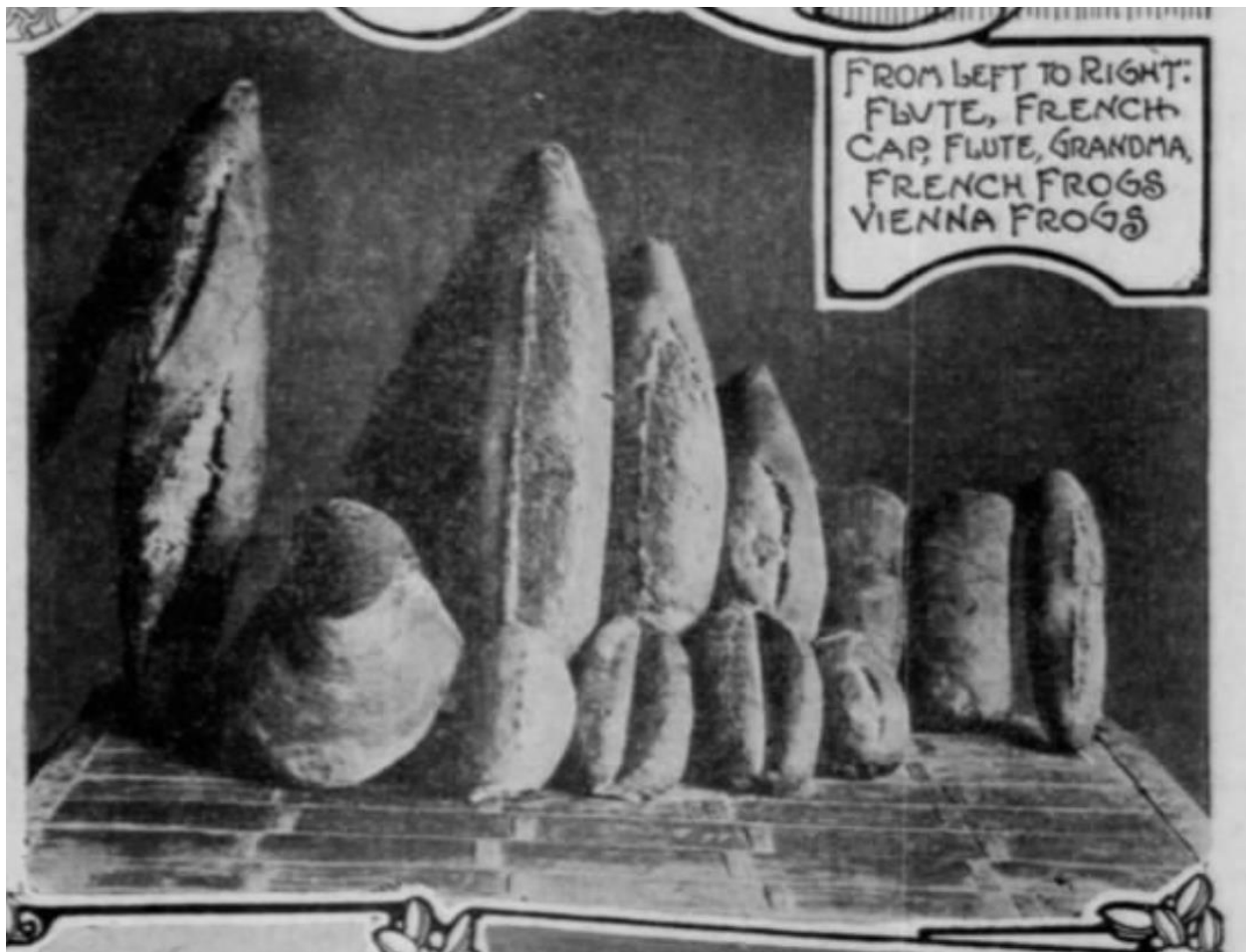
1896 Sanborn Insurance Map with Drawing of Bakery / Ovens at Bourbon Street Bakery.
(Courtesy of Special Collections Division, Tulane University Libraries. N-2387.1D79).

Image 24: Lost Breads 1 Francingues Bakery.



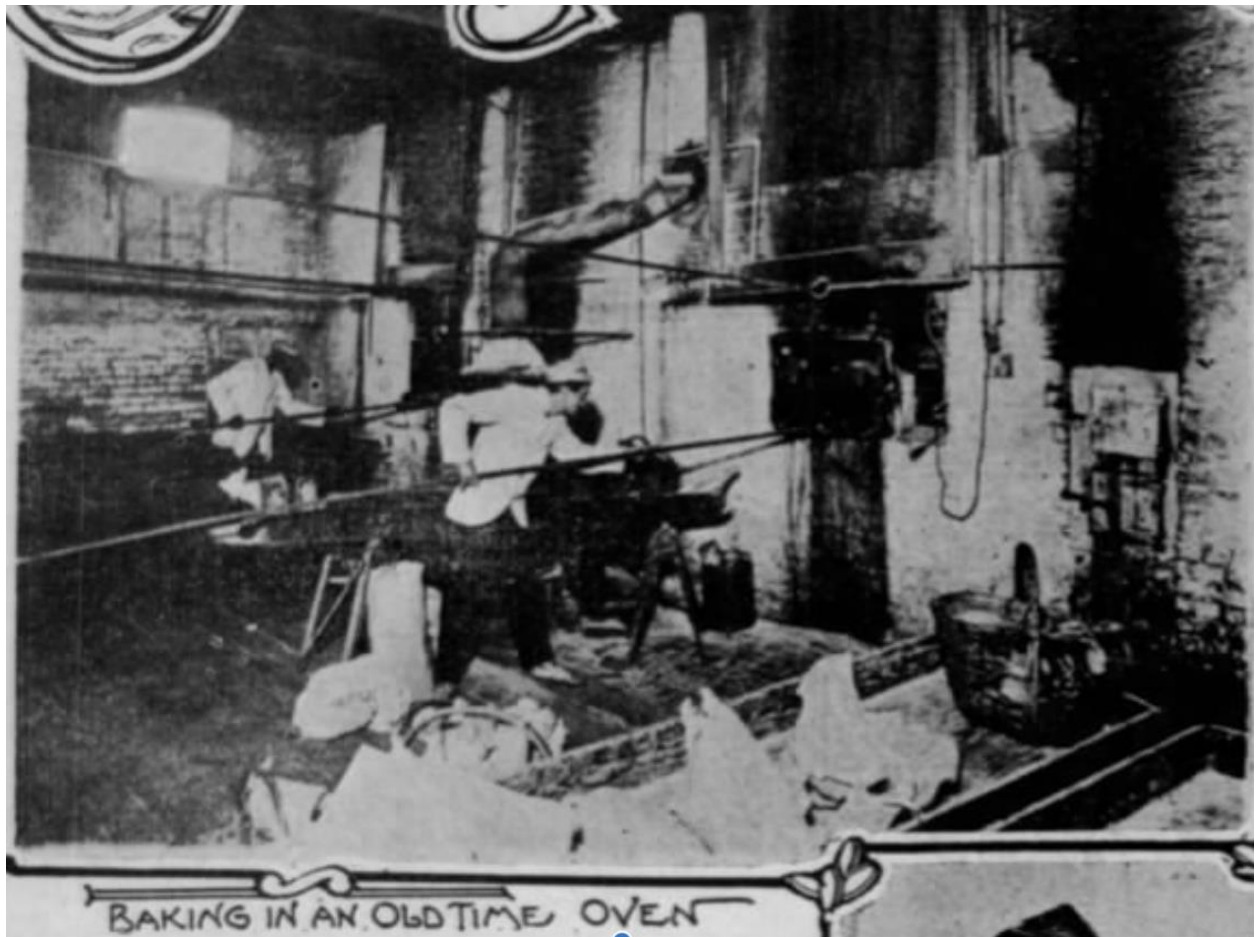
Bread from Francingues bakery. The Times-Democrat (New Orleans, Louisiana), Sunday, July 20, 1913.

Image 25: Lost Breads 2 Francingues Bakery.



Bread from Francingues Bakery. The Times-Democrat (New Orleans, Louisiana), Sunday, July 20, 1913.

Image 26: Ovens Francingues Bakery.



Old Time Ovens, Francingues Bakery. The Times-Democrat (New Orleans, Louisiana), Sunday, July 20, 1913.

Tour Stop 4

Local No. 35: The New Orleans Bakers' Union Hall 220 Exchange Alley

Bread-baking is a hard, physically demanding job. Before the Civil War, most bakery owners relied on apprenticeships and enslaved laborers to handle the workload. Postbellum bakery workers inherited a system of forced on-premises lodging, 16- to 23-hour shifts with no days off, low wages, hard manual labor, and dangerous, unsanitary conditions. The New Orleans bakers' union took shape in the 1880s to address these concerns. Although largely a forgotten force, the New Orleans bakers' union is an important piece of the city's baking and labor history. The local union was part of a national labor movement that helped implement changes now considered standard labor practices (eight-hour workday, overtime, paid vacation, and safety measures).

On January 13, 1886, representatives from the local bakers' union joined those from ten other cities in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to establish the *Journeyman Bakers' National Union*. In New Orleans, the *Journeyman Bakers' Union* presented a list of demands at their offices at No. 52 and 54 Exchange Place (now 220 Exchange Alley).²⁷ Although the union occupied several downtown addresses throughout its existence, this first recorded location was on a busy commercial thoroughfare that housed several other labor organizations. A group of fifty-three mostly small bakery owners formed a separate *Baker Bosses' Union* to “support and assist the Journeyman Bakers' Union.”²⁸ It was later renamed the *Master Bakers Association of New Orleans* and was tasked with negotiating agreements with the labor union.

By 1892, the union expanded to include ice cream and candy makers, renaming itself

²⁷ “The Bakers” *The Daily Picayune*, June 21, 1886, page 2.

²⁸ “The Boss Bakers' Union” *The Daily Picayune*, May 5, 1886, page 4.

Union of Journeymen Bakers and Confectioners. 1892 also marked the general strike in New Orleans when several other labor organizations joined together to force business owners to negotiate. The bakers' union demands included a closed union shop, a six-day workweek, a twelve-hour day (fifteen on Friday), the abolishment of forced lodging, union product labeling, and two holidays.²⁹ Most of the owners agreed to the union demands.³⁰

One unexpected result of the union's action to highlight working conditions was an increased public concern not for the well-being of bakers, but customers, due to perceived unhygienic bakeries and "unclean bread." Advertisements in the early 1900s emphasized "sanitary bakeries" and bread "untouched by human hands."³¹ The New Orleans Health Department passed several related sanitary ordinances around this time, requiring bread to be placed behind a screen or wrapped. A 1909 newspaper article described the "crusade" of the pure food department of the city's Board of Health to enforce bakery ordinances. The inspectors frequently targeted immigrant bakers in the Sicilian section of the French Quarter.³²

The bakers' union continued to strengthen in size and power, becoming one of the city's largest labor organizations.³³ The New Orleans branch of the union, Local No. 35, opened its

²⁹ "The Breadmakers" *New Orleans Item*, August 19, 1892, page 4.

³⁰ To the Public: Hall of Bakers and Confectioners' Union No. 135, American Federation of Labor. New Orleans, September 1, 1892." *New Orleans Item*, September 16, 1892, page 1.

³¹ "The Bakeries of America: Reports of Personal Visits and Inspections of Leading Shops by a Practical Baker." *Bakers Review*. Volume 34, No.1 October 1916. The journal offers this description of Joseph Reuther's newly constructed bakery in New Orleans: "The cleanliness of this plant is so striking that one has to wipe his feet involuntarily on the mop, before entering same. No expense has been too great to make this bakery attractive and inviting, and every feature has been embodied in its construction, which tends to the best methods of bread-making, always with a view of absolute cleanliness."

³² "Bread Exposed. Fourteen Vendors Amused Under the New Law." *Times-Picayune*, August 19, 1909, p. 5. "Wrapping Bread: Bakers Now Looking into Detail of Health Order." *Daily Picayune*, June 18, 1912, page 5.

³³ "A Labor Exchange May Be Established in a Building" *Daily Picayune*, June 20, 1901, page 9.

doors to Black bakers in 1918, a rare example of an interracial bakers' association in the South, but common in a city where Black and white laborers often worked together in the same trade.³⁴

A 1939 bulletin by the United States Department of Labor titled "Wages, Hours, and Working Conditions in Union Bakeries" points to a changing industry and union. As bakery work shifted from small hands-on shops to factory-type bakeries, the list of job descriptions moved beyond oven men, mixers, and benchmen to include machine operators, maintenance men, elevator operators, clerks, and janitors. The union bakeries in New Orleans maintained more hands-on jobs than other cities. They also had slightly lower wages and a longer workweek than other cities.³⁵

Collective bargaining negotiations preceding a threatened strike in 1947 revealed that 90% of bakeries in New Orleans employed union labor. These 1,100 union bakers produced 700,000 loaves of bread per day to feed a city.³⁶ While the bakers' union no longer operates in New Orleans, many of the benefits and conditions it fought for still linger in the city's remaining traditional bread bakeries. Local No. 35 laid the groundwork for bakery workers to earn their daily bread.

³⁴ Kaufman, Stuart B. *A Vision of Unity: History of the Bakery & Confectionery Workers International Union*. Kensington, Maryland: Bakery, Confectionery, and Tobacco Workers International Union, 1986.

³⁵ "Wages, Hours, and Working Conditions in Union Bakeries, June 1, 1939." Bulletin No. 673, United States Government Printing Office. United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Washington D.C.: 1940.

³⁶ "200 Bakers Out on Strike Here. 900 Stay on Job in Wage Dispute." *New Orleans States*, October 1, 1947, page 1.

Image 27: The 200 Block of Exchange Alley.



Exchange Alley ca. 1900? The first location of Bakers' Union offices. Exchange Alley was home to several labor organizations in New Orleans (Courtesy Historic New Orleans Collection. Collection Sam Wilson, Jr. N-572).

Image 28: Exchange Alley



220-222 Exchange Alley First location of Bakers' Union offices. (Courtesy Historic New Orleans Collection. Creator John Watson Riley. 01/08/2011. 2_036_exc_220-222).

Image 29: Bakers' Union Notice.

TO THE PUBLIC.

HALL OF BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS' UNION No. 136, American Federation of Labor. }
 NEW ORLEANS, September 1, 1892. }

To whom it may concern:

We desire to call attention to the fact that the demands made by this Union on August 21st, were conceded by a large majority of the independent Boss Bakers and those belonging to the Boss Bakers' Union. Some few, however, are seemingly determined to contend with our Union, and in order that you may be enlightened as to who they are, we append hereto the names of all such, so that you may take proper action.

All persons named on this list are running non-union shops and we ask you not to patronize them, as they have shown no disposition to deal fair with our Union.

GEORGE STEIN, Jefferson City.
 H. SCHWARTZ, 506 Camp street.
 A. HAGUENY, Baronne and Felicite.
 H. ILLING, Keller Market.
 V. MEYER, Julia near Magnolia street.
 B. KLOTZ, Steam Cracker Bakery.
 JAC. RAPFOLD, Jackson and Liberty Sts.
 J. ZIEGLER, Liberty near Felicite streets.
 A. HELLFRICH, Carondelet near Ohio St.
 PH. REIS, Thalia near Camp street.
 F. KICK, 300 Conti street.
 JACOB LOSCH, 88 Dauphine street.
 J. BERREROUBE, Carondelet Walk.
 G. STRIKWOOD, Carondelet Walk.
 CONRAD SICK, Decatur between Hospital and Barracks streets.
 OASP. AMREIN, Dauphine and Bagatelle streets.
 B. SCHLIMMER, St. Bernard Market.
 H. HAHN, Villere near St. Bernard street.
 E. SCHNEIDER, Derbigny and Mandeville streets.
 W. ENSMINGER, Port, near Love streets.
 BEEHM, corner Royal and Mandeville streets.
 E. BURCH, Chartres, near Spain streets.
 LUCAS MICHEL, Carrollton.
 JAN MARIE REIS, 86 Adele street.
 A. REDON, 58 and 60 Bourbon street.
 CONRAD K. HAMNER, 391 Rampart street.
 CONRAD SCHMIDT, St. Bernard avenue, between Marais and Urquhart.
 NICK KREUTZ, Dauphine and Independence.
 HENRY HILL, Palmyra and Tonti streets.
 FRANCOIS DUROS, 161 Burgundy street.
 CHAS. NUSS, Mandeville and Villere streets.
 LOUIS BHOUSSETT, Felicite and Fulton streets.
 LEON REDON, Berlin and Camp streets.
 CHAS. IGAN, Rampart and Hospital.
 MARTIN GREGON, near U. S. Barracks.

List of Non-Union Shops. *New Orleans Item*, 16 Sept. 1892, p. 1.

Image 30: Bakers' Union Demands.

THE BREADMAKERS.

The committee of boss bakers who were appointed some days ago to confer with a committee of journeymen bakers on the grievance of the latter, met yesterday morning at the Bakers' Union headquarters, on Exchange alley. No agreement was arrived at. The committee representing the Bakers' Union notified the bosses that unless an agreement was made a general strike would be ordered throughout the city.

The boss bakers will give their final answer on Wednesday at 10 a. m.

The Journeymen Bakers have been ordered by the Union to continue work until that day.

The demands of the Union are seven in number and include the reduction of hours to twelve and matters relating to the boarding and bedding of the journeymen.

Bakers' Demands, New Orleans Item, 22 Aug. 1892, p. 4.

Tour Stop 5

A Bakery Shaped by Place: Garic's French Market Bakery 929 Decatur Street

Often visible in the background of historic images of the French Market, the three-story Italianate building with the Garic's Bakery sign anchored the neighborhood.³⁷ Garic's was once part of a bustling riverfront commercial corridor, closely intertwined with the nearby port and public farmers market, at times even taking on the name "French Market Bakery." An 1893 newspaper article reported Garic's bakery among the merchants that offered hurricane relief to the lower coast's oystermen, who traded near the French Market.³⁸

Newspaper advertisements throughout the bakery's existence reflected the busy, diverse, and ever-changing French Quarter neighborhood. The bakery was "always open," operating twenty-four hours a day. It serviced ships and supplied loaves of bread and pastries to some of the city's finest restaurants as well as the people who lived, shopped, and worked in the area. The bakery was referred to as the "French Italian Bakery" (that sold rye bread!) and adapted its products to customer demand. Some of the types of bread baked at Garic's over its almost one-hundred-year existence included hardtack for ships (a long-lasting biscuit that looks like a flat, dimpled disk, a staple since the colonial era), cap bread, French bread, Sicilian St. Joseph's bread, German rye and pumpernickel bread, and French biscuits.

When Lawson Garic opened his namesake bakery in 1885, close to 150 bakeries were listed in the New Orleans city directory. Garic had previously managed Stiegler Bakery near the Tremé Market and was a flour merchant to some of the city's older bakeries, such as Chretien's.

³⁷ Moore, Frank B. *French Market*. Glass plate negative. University of New Orleans, Earl K. Long Library: Frank B. Moore Collection, New Orleans.

³⁸ *Times-Picayune*, October 6, 1893, p. 8.

Just as bakeries reflected the surrounding community's needs, they also had to adapt to outside forces such as sanitary laws and flour shortages. In the early 1900s, health ordinances required bakeries to wrap loaves and adjust loaf size, resulting in the standardization of products.³⁹ Records show that a rise in ingredients' cost resulted in a 1916 request to renegotiate Garic's contract to deliver 17,000 pounds of bread a month to Charity hospital.⁴⁰ After a few years, Garic left the bakery business to pursue real estate ventures, but family members continued to operate the bakery until 1952.⁴¹

In the 1930s and 1940s, new challenges, such as industrialization, changing bread styles, and World War II labor shortages appeared. An article from 1933 reveals the growing popularity of "poor boy" loaves and machine-made sliced pan bread versus old-fashioned French bread and the French cap bread. The same article highlights Sterling Garic, a third-generation owner of Garic's, as the last baker to produce hardtack.⁴²

In 1952, the Gaudet family purchased Garic's bakery and renamed it "Gaudet's French Market Bakery." A few years later, the family leased the business to German baker Andreas Reising who operated the bakery as "Sunrise French Market Bakery." In a 1958 Times-Picayune advertisement, Reising described the charm of the old Garic's bakery and its appeal to tourists in

³⁹ "City Hall. Walnut Ferry Complaint's Figure in More Reports." Times-Picayune, 7 May 1912, p. 5; Report on "anti-fly ordinance" violations for not keeping bread screened.

⁴⁰ *The Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, Louisiana), March 2, 1912, Page 7; *New Orleans Item*, November 21, 1916, p. 4.

⁴¹ *Times-Picayune* (published as *The Daily Picayune*.) - 12 Dec. 1909 - page 26. The article mentions Lawson Garic's plan to open a sizeable French Bakery near Iberville and Royal Streets and gives background history. It does not appear that the new project came to fruition, Karst, James. "Before the po-boy came the poor man's bakery idea." *Times-Picayune*, (New Orleans, LA), sec. Po Boys, 10 Sept. 2017.

⁴² "Loaf Styles Change, But French Bread Holds Seat." *Orleans Item* (published as *The Item-Tribune*), August 13, 1933, page 11.

the changing French Quarter. Location still mattered, but the clientele had shifted once again – this time away from locals to tourists. He implored locals to follow the example of “visitors from all over the country, with Sunrise French Bread to be carried to their homes” to serve “daily at our table, n’est ce pas?”⁴³

Following Sunrise Bakery, another baker, Adam Falkenstein, operated “French Market Bakery” at the site briefly in the early 1970s. In 1981, records show that the Gaudet family estate sold the property. The famous bakery that once served and profited from the busy French Market, port, and surrounding neighborhood transitioned to a gallery and souvenir shop. Garlic’s history stands as an enduring testament to a bakery’s power to anchor and serve a community.

⁴³ “This Town of Ours” Reising, Andy. *Times-Picayune*, January 8, 1958, page 20.

Image 31: Garic's Bakery.



View of the market in front of the 900 block of Decatur Street, New Orleans, at the point where it and North Peters Street diverge. (Courtesy of Louisiana and Special Collections, University of New Orleans, Frank B. Moore Collection fbm000483, #145-484).

Image 32: Garlic's 1948.



925-927, 929-931, 933-935 Decatur. Faded Garlic's Bakery sign. (Courtesy Special Collections Division, Tulane University Libraries. Creator Walter Cook Keenan. 05/30/1948, N. 2-2021-018).

Image 33: Garic's Notice, 1893.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

GARIC'S BAKERY,
240 DECATUR STREET, OPPOSITE THE
FRENCH MARKET, IS AT ALL TIMES PRE-
PARED TO FILL LARGE OR SMALL ORDERS
FOR FRESH BREAD AND HAND-MADE
FRENCH BISCUITS, FOR EITHER CITY OR
THE COUNTRY.

10-1m

Notice of Products, Garic's Bakery, 1893. (*Daily Picayune*.) New Orleans, Louisiana, November 9, 1893, page 5.

Image 34: Advertisements Garic's Bakery, 1924.

B R E A D
SHIPS SUPPLIED
PHONE
G A R I C
929 Decatur Hemlock 585
"The Home of French Bread"

Home of FRENCH BREAD
WHEN YOU GET YOUR MARKETING
TAKEN OFF THE LOAF
G A R I C ' S
OPPOSITE FRENCH MARKET
929 DECATUR ST. - HEM. 585

Two newspaper advertisements for Garic's Bakery French breads including image of Cap Bread.
New Orleans Item, 2:30 ed., 18 Jan. 1924, p. 11; 12 Feb. 1924, p. 15.

Image 35: Garic's Italian Breads.

swered questions from the floor. | ton men.

St. Joseph's Bread & Cakes

Made by Little Italy's own bakery. We
specialize in Birthday, Wedding, Fancy
Cakes and the old French Cap Bread.

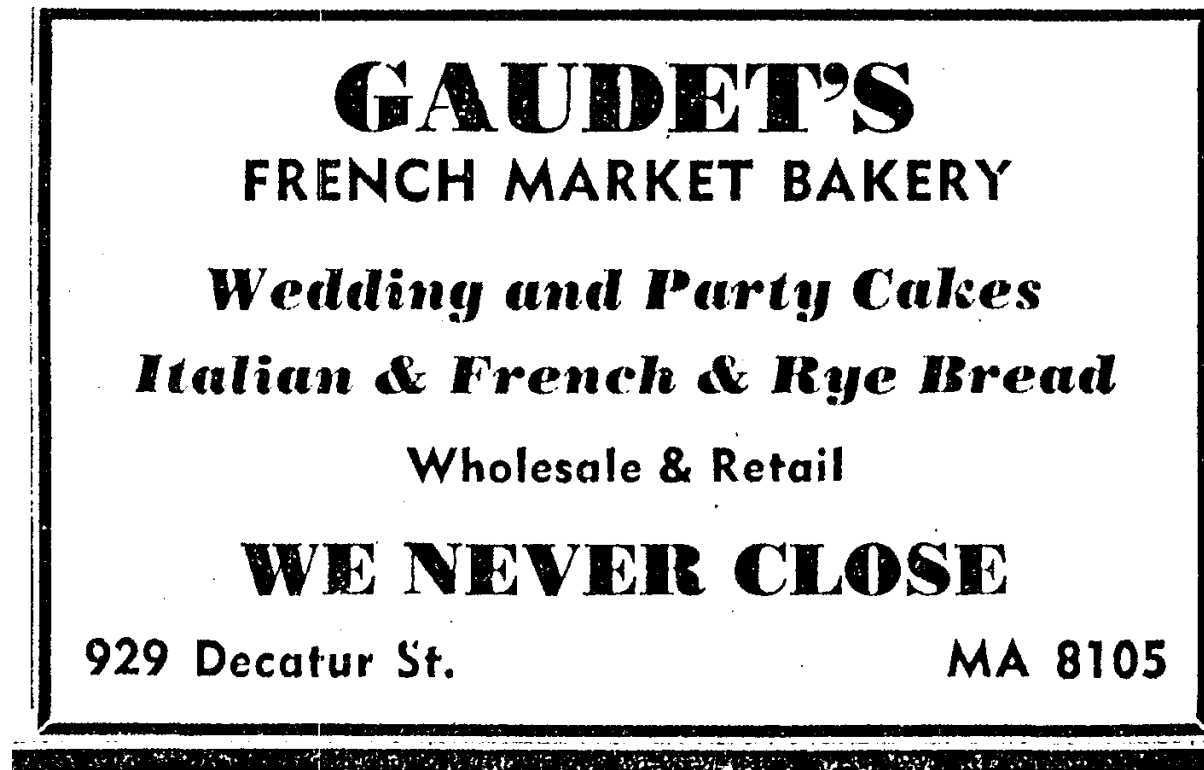
GARIC'S BAKERY

929 Decatur St.

RA 5785

Advertisement for Garic's St. Joseph's Breads and Cakes by "Little Italy's own Bakery." March 14, 1939, *Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, Louisiana, page 2.

Image 36: Gaudet's French Market Bakery.



GAUDET'S
FRENCH MARKET BAKERY

Wedding and Party Cakes
Italian & French & Rye Bread

Wholesale & Retail

WE NEVER CLOSE

929 Decatur St. MA 8105



Man-O-Man . . . Make Mine MONOGRAM!! And,
no matter what foods you're enjoying—at home or in
a restaurant . . . BE SURE, say Man-O-Man . . .

Advertisement for Gaudet's French Market Bakery 1952. "We Never Close." *Orleans Item*,
November 14, 1952, page 53.

Image 37: Hiring Women.

**YOUNG LADIES
TO LEARN
CAKE AND PASTRY BAKING
APPLY
GARIC'S BAKERY
929 DECATUR ST.**

EXPERIENCED WALKERS

A 1943 Advertisement for Ladies to Learn Cake and Pastry Baking. *Times-Picayune*, May 14, 1943, page 28. (A 1999 Obituary of Former Garic Baker, ZOE FRICHTER RICHARD LICAUSI, stated she was the "First Female Woman Baker and Cake Decorator in New Orleans." *Times-Picayune*, (New Orleans, LA), sec. METRO, 15 June 1999, p. B3).

Tour Stop 6

Sicilian Bakers of New Orleans: F. Lombardo and Sons Bakery 1210 Decatur Street

The French may claim New Orleans French bread, but later immigrant bakers' influence on the city's bread-making traditions is undeniable. At the turn of the nineteenth century, a wave of Sicilian immigration to New Orleans left a lasting impact on the city's culture and economy. Nowhere is this more evident than the French Quarter, where traces of a once-thriving community known as "Little Palermo" are still etched in tiles and memories. Many of the Sicilians who arrived in New Orleans lived and worked in the French Quarter and forged a path in the commercial food business, unloading produce on the wharves, truck farming, and establishing grocery stores, restaurants, macaroni factories, and bakeries.

The 1891 city directory lists a baker on St. Philip Street named Agostino Lombardo, who arrived in New Orleans from Trabia, outside of Palermo.⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ There were almost 200 bakers in New Orleans at that time, most with German or French names. Agostino Lombardo was one of only two bakers at that time with an Italian last name (the other was Lorenzo Federico, a pasta maker, also on St. Philip Street). With his father Francesco and brother Filippo, Agostino Lombardo soon moved to 1210 Decatur Street, where "F. Lombardo and Sons Bakery" operated until declaring bankruptcy in 1941.⁴⁶

Lombardo Bakery was one of the earliest recorded Italian bread bakeries in New Orleans.⁴⁷ With entrances facing both Decatur Street and French Market Place (previously

⁴⁴ New Orleans City Directory. New Orleans: L. Soards, 1891.

⁴⁵ 1910 Census, New Orleans, Ward 7, Roll T624-521: P.1B, Microfilm 1374534.

⁴⁶ "Bankruptcy Sale" *Times-Picayune*, April 27, 1941.

⁴⁷ "Filippo Sunseri, Friend of the Poor, Death of Well-Known Italian, Who Built Monument in Many Hearts." *Daily Picayune*, January 11, 1914, page 12. (Article describes Sunseri's connection to Lombardo and Lanasa baking

Gallatin Street), Lombardo Bakery served the port and the growing Sicilian community clustered near the bustling French Market. The grandson of Francesco Lombardo, Frank Lombardo, wondered in a 2015 oral history "why do they call this the French Market? It's all Italians. Sicilians!" ⁴⁸ This tight-knit community added their language, traditions, and foods to an already vibrant mix of New Orleans cultures. Other small, multigenerational Sicilian bakers such as Lanasa, Ancona, Aiovolasiti/Ace Bakery, Lovoi, Ruffino, Evola, Gendusa, Brocato, and LoGiudice/United Bakery, continued the French and American bread-making traditions of New Orleans. But they also added their own styles of bread to the mix, including the famous "poor boy loaf," St. Joseph's bread, braided sesame twist loaves, sfincione pizza, and the other well-known loaf, the muffuletta. Lombardo's bakery laid the groundwork for this dynasty of Sicilian bread-makers to follow.

families, and claims responsibility for introducing Italian bread to New Orleans); Oral History Interview with Salvatore Tusa, 2015 July 2. MSS 766-05. Vieux Carré Memoir Oral History Project, Historic New Orleans Collection. Cave, Mark, b. 1964 (interviewer).

⁴⁸ "Lombardo, Frank: Postwar Life and Reflections." Oral History, National World War II Museum, 2015.

Image 38: French Market.

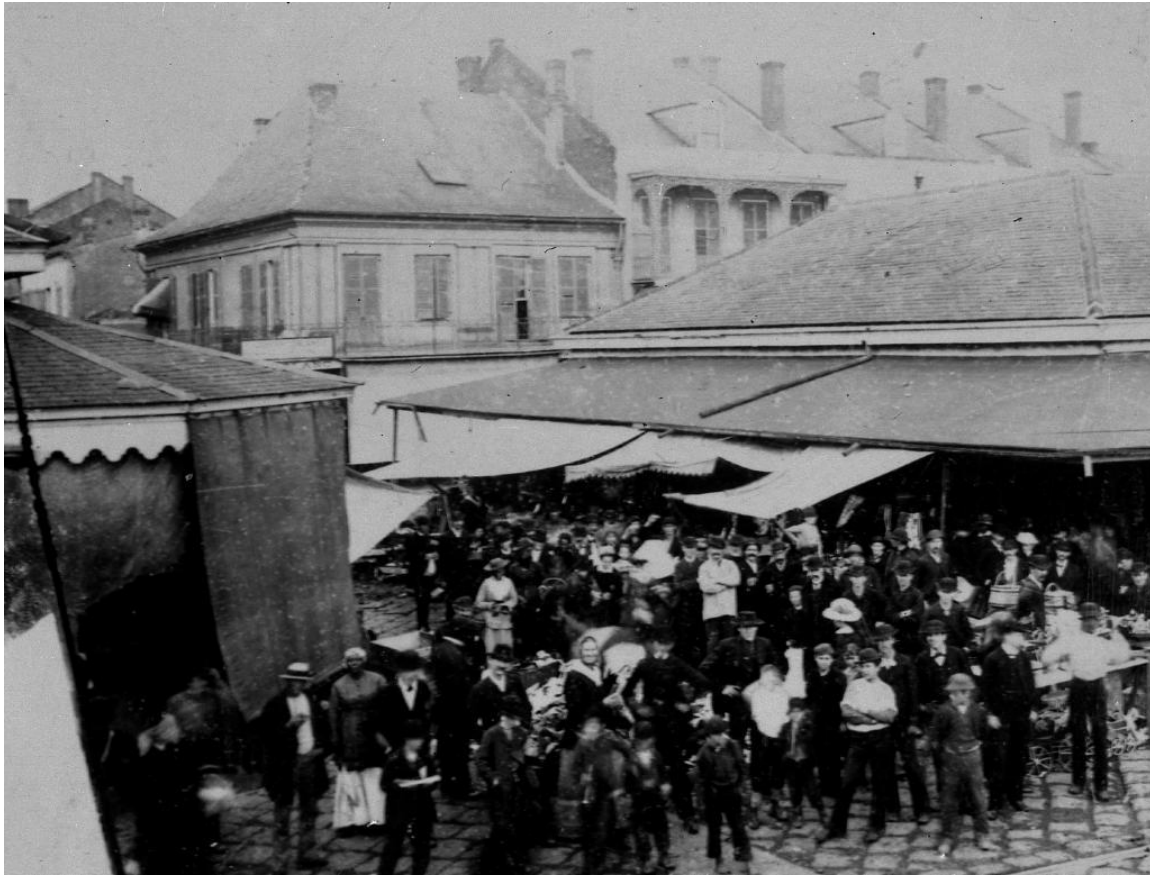


Image of French Market at 1001-1003 Decatur corner St. Phillip. ca. 1900? (courtesy Louisiana State Museum n-1354).

Image 39: Macaroni Manufacturers.

MACARONI MANUFACTURERS.

D. Bartolotta, 614 St. Philip.

John Cusimano, 1909 Decatur.

F. Lombardo & Sons, 1210 Decatur.

**Southern Italian Paste Factory, Ltd.,
602 S. Peters.**

**La Regina Macaroni Factory, 940
Iryades.**

F. Lombardo & Sons, 1210 Decatur, Macaroni Manufacturers. *New Orleans Item*, 8 Aug. 1909, p. 18.

Image 40: Advertisement F. Lombardo & Sons.

IT SUITS THE TASTE

Our BREAD and MACARONI are made
by the most modern methods. Our Factory and
Bakery are clean and sanitary and the products we
offer for sale are what they should be. We invite
your patronage.

F. LOMBARDO & SONS BAKERY and Macaroni Factory

1210 Decatur Street.

Phone Hemlock 538.

Branch
2124 Decatur Street,
New Orleans.

Advertisement for F. Lombardo and Sons, Bakery and Macaroni Manufacturers. *New Orleans Item*, 13 Dec. 1914, p. 22.

Image 41: Italian Newspaper Advertisement



Advertisement in local Italian language newspaper featuring “maker of Italian and American bread. Sea biscuits. Macaroni. Specializes in providing quick service.” *La Voce Coloniale*, December 8, 1917.

Image 42: 1200 Gallatin Street.



1200 Gallatin Street (French Market Place) behind Decatur Street 1936. (Courtesy Louisiana State Museumn-3209)

Image 42: 1210 Decatur Street.



1210 Decatur Street, Lombardo and Sons Bakery (Courtesy Special Collections Division, Tulane University Libraries. Creator Walter Cook Keenan late 1940s-1950s, 2-014-004.)

Vita

Dana Logsdon is a native New Orleanian who left the city to go to college but was happy to return home. She worked for ten years at the Consulate General of Italy in New Orleans as a bilingual administrator, before pursuing her dream to bake professionally. Building on her experience apprenticing as a teenager in New Orleans for German baker Hans Fink of La Bonbonniere Pastry Shop, she worked with baker Julia Carter at Uptown Bakery. Julia was at the forefront of the artisan baking revival in New Orleans, grinding her own wheat and making everything from scratch. In 1996, Dana opened her own bakery, La Spiga, in the historic Faubourg Marigny neighborhood together with her cousin Michael Manning, her mother Mary Logsdon, and baker Julia Carter. Following the floods of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, La Spiga shared their kitchen with the bakers from Angelo Brocato's Ice Cream and Confectionary. When Dana closed her bakery in 2007, she went to work at Brocato's as bakery manager and was introduced to the world of Sicilian baking. This inspired her to research Italian bread bakeries, which led to a further interest in the history and stories of New Orleans bread-making. Dana still lives and bakes and researches in New Orleans, continuing to feed her loved ones and her cherished native city.